MONTH



Vol. CLXXVII

MAY-JUNE, 1941

CONTENTS

SEVENTY-SEVENTH YEAR

	Page
COMMENTSBy the Editor	193
RERUM NOVARUM 1891-1941	209
RED SANDALS	219
ON RE-READING SALLUSTBy Ernest Graf, O.S.B.	227
SPIRITUALITY AND THE ACTIVE LIFE-IIBy B. O'Brien	237
THE CASE OF POLAND	248
THE JESUITS OF THE MIDDLE UNITED STATES By Leo Hicks	256
MISCELLANEA	270
I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES Blessed Margaret of Salisbury	
II. OUR CONTEMPORARIES	
REVIEWS	277
1.—The Steps of Humility. By St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux. 2.—From Cabin Boy to Archbishop: The Autobiography of Archbishop Ullathorne. Introduction by Shane Leslie. 3.—Noble Castle. By Christopher Hollis. 4.—The Faith in England. By A. Herbert Rees. 5.—St. Ignatius Loyola and Prayer. By the late Archbishop Goodier.	
SHORT NOTICES	287
BOOKS DECEIVED	000

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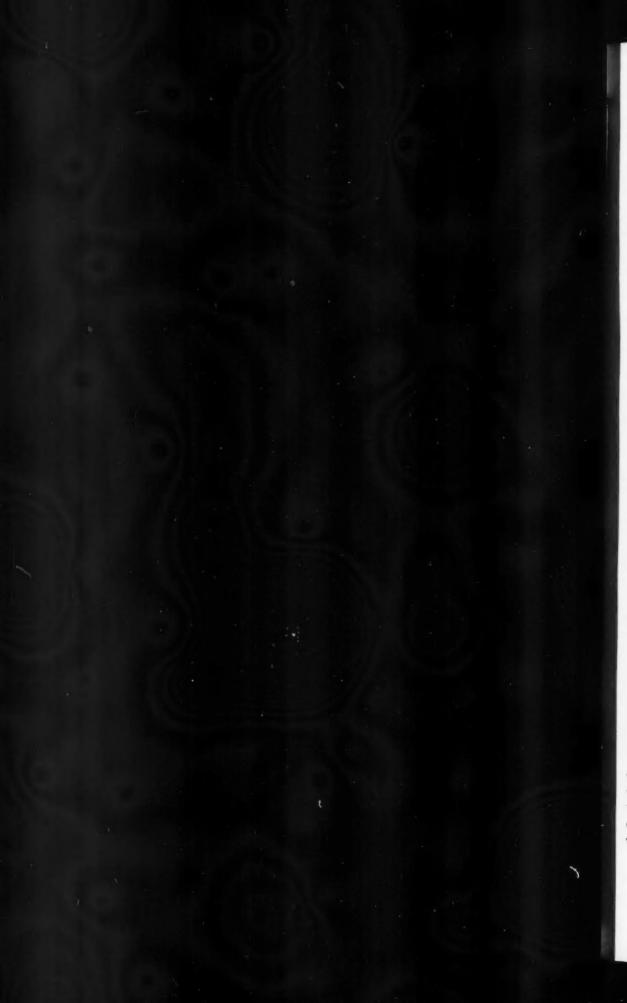
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THE MONTH

Vol. CLXXVII

MAY-JUNE, 1941

No. 921

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

The Stoll Meetings

THE two public meetings of May 10th and 11th, organized by the Sword of the Spirit, were of an unusual and an epoch-making character. Not that they were the first of their kind; similar gatherings had been arranged, in previous weeks and on a considerable scale, at Birmingham. Northampton and Leeds. The Stoll meetings had, however, a special significance. They were important because of the numbers that attended, the distinguished speakers and speeches and—certainly not least—the co-operation of Cardinal Hinsley and His Grace of Canterbury as chairmen of the two functions. Listeners to the Home Service broadcast from 3.30 to 4 on the Sunday afternoon must have been impressed by the addresses -of Dr. Lang from the Stoll Theatre and, immediately following, of the Cardinal from a studio. The general theme of the meetings was provided by the Joint Letter of December 21st, 1940-a letter which accepted the Five Points of Pius XII as the basis of international reconstruction and proposed five further standards for social and national reformation here in Britain. The theme was well reflected in its varying aspects through the two days' addresses. It was clarified and made more explicit in a resolution that was moved and carried on both afternoons. This resolution endorsed the Joint Letter and urged its acceptance "as the basis of any future statement of War and Peace Aims," by the Governments of the British Commonwealth and by Allied and Associated Governments. The purpose of the meetings is thus clear. It was to associate Catholics and non-Catholics in a solemn affirmation, in the Holy Father's words, that "no permanent peace is possible in Europe unless the principles of the Christian faith are made the basis of national policy and of all social life." The cooperation does not-and of course could not-extend to doctrine and belief. But the world-shaking crisis with which we are now faced must bring together all Christians, of whatever shade or colour-indeed, all men of sanity and good will who understand how the human and religious values of European civilization are being denied and assailed. "There are differences between us," noted the Bishop of Chichester, "in order and creed. But those who, in the Pope's words, 'believe in God and follow Jesus Christ as their Leader and Master,' have a large common ground. And I believe that through such Christian co-operation, outside the dogmatic field, as this meeting represents, on a universal scale, with the leadership, if possible, of the Pope, the essential spiritual foundation could be laid for the fellowship of all nations as One Family under the Fatherhood of God." It should be added that His Lordship has worked, and is working whole-heartedly for such co-operation: his efforts are genuinely appreciated.

Two Important Notes

Two important notes were sounded during Saturday afternoon. The first can be discovered in the Cardinal's introductory address. Referring to the need of persuading Governments to treat these ten points of the Joint Letter with real seriousness, the Cardinal insisted that they were everywhere securing the adhesion of the saner elements among men. He had recently received a letter from the Archbishop-Bishop of Detroit, a former Apostolic Delegate in India as well as in Japan, and now President of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in the United States. The letter assured His Eminence that the Joint Statement of principles had created a profound impression throughout the U.S.A. It continued in the following terms:

I gladly accept your invitation to work with you to obtain the recognition of these principles on which a just and lasting peace must be built, as I also deeply share your realization of what it would mean to the world if your country and ours would proclaim their approval of this basis of world order and lasting peace. If the signers of your agreement could get the British Government publicly to adopt these principles as substantially expressive of their war aims, we could rally the strongest kind of support to your providential initiative.

The Bishop of Chichester went even further and advocated an appeal to the many millions within Germany who could still be swayed by Christian ideals and proposals. We need, he declared, an Idea—the thoroughly Christian Idea that will oppose, and prevail over, the crude and savage Idea put forward with such intensity by the Nazis, an Idea of domination,

greed and hate. This Idea we ought to be promoting and proclaiming. The Bishop's words were in full sympathy with the purposes of the Sword of the Spirit: for the Spirit conquers through ideas or the Idea, grace-touched and grace-sustained. This Idea the Bishop would have us express as follows:

We stand for a Christian Order. We know that we have fallen far short of it ourselves. But that is our deliberate aim. The choice before us all is between the Christian religion and nihilism, that destruction of humanity which Hitlerism spells. This Christian Order is a better Order than any of us have yet known. It is not the Order which existed when the war began; or when the World War commenced. Nor is it the Order which was imposed when the World War ended. It is a Christian Order for the nations, based on the acceptance of the Lordship of Christ. It is an Order which requires sacrifices from the British, as well as others. It will not be easy to establish, but the winning of that Order is the only thing which offers any hope or comfort, or inspiration to the common man.

Words of Encouragement

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CHRISTOPHER DAWSON, Vice-President of IV the Sword of the Spirit, whose address was read on the Sunday, added some valuable words of encouragement. The Christian to-day is frequently frightened and, as it were, fascinated by the onward sweep of evil-with the vast resources at its disposal—that he becomes faint-hearted and all too passively resigned. Spiritually, he is tempted to scurry away from the Forum into the catacombs. "If Christianity is not suited to hard times," Mr. Dawson reminded his audience, "Christians have no right to speak at all." To build a Christian order we do not require great economic resources or exceptionally prosperous times. "Such work is better done in the spirit of Nehemias and his companions who rebuilt the ruined walls of Jerusalem, working with one hand and holding the sword in the other." Further, we do not need an elaborate and ambitious programme. It is a question of building on the foundations that still remain of human nature and national tradition. And war, despite its destructiveness and horrors, does drive the reasonable and decent man back to these foundations. It removes many barriers which would not

disappear easily in normal times: it strips us of nonessentials and points a menacing finger to the greater problems. Speaking more directly of this Christian order for Britain, he continued:

It must be based on freedom, otherwise it would not be British, but it must be a Christian freedom, not a freedom of economic materialism and individual selfishness. This means that it must be a social order directed to spiritual ends, in which every man has a chance to use his freedom for the service of God according to his own powers and gifts. The liberties which we demand and which humanity demands are not the right of the strong to oppress the weak or the right of the ambitious to enrich themselves at other men's expense; but those elementary rights which are to the human spirit what air and light are to the body: freedom to worship God, freedom of speech, freedom from want and freedom from fear. Without these, man cannot be fully man, and the order which denies them is an *in-human* order.

Closing Speeches

ISS DOROTHY SAYERS, commenting recently on I "Rerum Novarum," suggested that, while it treated admirably of the relationship between employer and employee, it did not deal with the further problem of the worker's attitude to his work. This last theme was the subject of her Stoll address: it developed the fourth of the five standards, contained in the Joint Letter, namely, that "the sense of a Divine vocation must be restored to man's daily work." There are, she asserted, two concepts of work prevalent to-day which involve, in their turn, two very different ways of regarding leisure. According to the first, a man's life and work are one thing: he lives for his work, doing it for his own satisfaction and to the glory of the Almighty. The second considers work as a mere commodity, a price that is paid, and paid reluctantly, for livelihood. The first view will think of leisure as an interval or resting-spell between periods of work: the second as a sheer escape from work, with its drudgery and routine. Thus the notions, both of work and of leisure, are defaced. The work and leisure suffer: work because it is "got through" somehow and as rapidly as possible; leisure since it becomes laborious or sensual or is wasted in trivial amusement. Above all, the man

himself suffers, and never develops interests, mental awareness and that indefinable thing, personality. It is the business of the Church—continued Miss Sayers—to make the world (employer, worker and consumer) understand what is meant by vocation in work, and its importance in producing a society whose work could be undertaken to the greater glory of God. The work must be good and right, and it must be well done.

The medieval juggler who juggled and turned somersaults in honour of our Lady was rendering her the best service in his power. But could anybody, without a blush, offer our Lady a smart bit of juggling with the stockmarket, or a set of cheap hire-purchase furniture, camouflaged to imitate luxury, or a piece of ca-canny bricklaying, or a wireless set deliberately made to fall to pieces quickly and so stimulate demand for a new model?

Miss Sayers's remarks raise several problems. Can the notion be applied to an industrial society? But why not? Man, Miss Sayers would insist, must share the divine creativeness since—through Christ—he shares the divine nature. Why could not a factory be as *creative* as the workshop of a craftsman? And surely a steamship is a *creation* at least as obviously as the milliner's hat or a sculptor's gargoyle? Too long have we allowed this better view of work to be used and abused by the art-and-crafty, the eccentric and the very doctrinaire. This question needs close thought and serious attention.

It was illustrated again in Father M. C. D'Arcy's plea that we should bring back Christianity through the heart and the imagination, and once more stain our life with its glorious colour. In what *The Church Times* slyly calls the Gasquet and not the Coulton manner he showed how the Church of the Middle Ages was a wise old psychologist as well as a teacher.

Every act, every joy and duty was bathed in the supernal light of the faith, the great crises and the tiny details which touch the heart with silent delight. Grace at meals, the evangelists in bed, the angelus at the change of hours; work and play had heavenly patrons, the various trades their processions and religious celebrations, the knight had his vows, the scholar his degree of dedication, every flower in the field had its guardian angel or saint, every animal its Christian legend. Through eye and ear and every sense and appetite the child and the man was taught the nearness of Christ and His mother; the glories

of stain glass and fresco taught the truths of the faith; dance and drama took up the lesson. Everything contemporary and in esteem was saturated with Christian truth, and all the contemporary arts were employed to warm the heart with beauty.

But Father D'Arcy is no medievalist, no reactionary. He counsels no revival of things long past but the taking of lessons from the advertisements, cartoons and the neon-lighting of modern times. He is quite right though admittedly it is no simple matter to apply this method. I would scarcely care to see the Gospel parables done à la Disney in "Silly Symphony" manner. But there it is. Work, leisure, the general atmosphere in which we live, have all been secularized. If Christian society is to be possible, this must give way to a new and yet richly Christian atmosphere, in which mind and imagination will be fashioned by the Christian faith and heritage.

The Next Steps

THE sense of Christian solidarity, shown at the Stoll and similar gatherings, is very encouraging. But we should beware of undue optimism. The gatherings are a beginning, not the end of a campaign. The question is how the energy and good will that they provoked, can best be developed and canalized for further effort. The purpose underlying the meetings-and underlying the work of the Sword of the Spirit —is the desire to see Christian standards applied to social, national, and international problems. This is clear: and it is splendid to have harnessed to the campaign the support of all Christian bodies in this country. But how to go forward that is the question. As far as method is concerned—discussion circles should be promoted to study and master Christian teaching on social and international affairs; public joint meetings can be held in different centres; co-operation could be sought in local administration and general civic life. For it is now evident on what basis such co-operation is permissible. There is no question of dogma, of our or their ideas about the Church of Christ. It is no compromise but an agreement to work together to bring Christian principles into public life. Naturally, there are certain dangers: advances may be misinterpreted, and difficulties be glossed over; caution and wisdom will be necessary. All this is pre-supposed. It should, however, be added that wide circles, outside the Church, are

recognizing what a grand Christian lead they have been given by Cardinal Hinsley. Therefore, forward with this co-operation, always within its sane and prescribed limits. As many discussion-groups and meetings, as much co-operation as you like—with the general purpose of insisting on Christian ideals and standards. But, you might ask, can this lead to anything more than sturdy pious affirmation? Yes, it can. To deal with purely internal problems—why should there not be a Joint Council of Action, sponsored by the four signatories of the Joint Letter? Under their guidance a broadly Christian attitude might be adopted towards certain domestic questions, including those of education, the youth movements, family rights and allowances, unprotected labour, housing, evacuation, and the like. Further questions of the ethico-social order inevitably suggest themselves, but they could not all be tackled unfortunately-with the same chance of unanimity. But, where agreement is possible, it could be secured: and, with the assistance of suitable specialists and experts, it could express itself. The result might well be a series of highly valuable and at the same time highly practical pronouncements that would be welcomed throughout the country.

An Approach to Governments

THE resolution passed at both Stoll meetings has already been referred to. It was sent to the Prime Minister and to the heads of the Allied Governments. It invited them to incorporate the Five Peace Points of Pius XII in any statement of peace and war aims they should issue. Equivalently, it appealed to them to issue such a statement. Governments, we know, are slow to move or be moved: but the existence of a strong current of public opinion on a particular subject does affect them. Therefore, it would be an excellent thing if this same resolution could be proposed and passed at all similar joint meetings, and afterwards forwarded to these Governments. After all, the main principles for which Britain is fighting are contained in the Pope's points. "An assurance for all nations great or small, powerful or weak, of their right to life and independence "-surely, we are determined that Poland, France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Yugoslavia and Greece shall be freed, and shall enjoy that "right to life and independence," of which the Pope speaks. "Reparation," in accordance with "the rules of justice and mutual equity"-

we are insisting on this too. True peace demands, the Pope reminds us, that peoples must be freed "from the danger that material force, instead of serving to protect the right, may become an overwhelming and tyrannical master"—are we not defending the right against mere might, reason against brutish power? In the same Christmas address the Holy Father attributed the failure of his many appeals for peace to the inability to remove "the deep feeling of distrust which during recent years has been steadily growing and has placed insurmountable barriers between one nation and another"are we not trying to restore that international confidence which Nazi disregard for truth and common honesty has so miserably shattered? The establishment of "some juridical institution which shall guarantee the loyal and faithful fulfilment of conditions agreed upon, and which shall in case of recognized need revise and correct them"; the taking into serious account of the reasonable requirements and demands of nations and of their racial minorities-what is there in either of these statements that conflicts with, that does not harmonize with, our real purposes in this war? Why then hesitate to approve of them, to adopt them even? Can you envisage any post-war settlement worth the having in which they will not be incorporated? Mr. Hugh Lyon, Headmaster of Rugby, who gave a splendid address at the Saturday Stoll meeting, expressed his conviction that the British people would have energy enough to win the war, but whispered his fear that they might not have sufficient energy to win the peace. Christians to-day have both the duty and opportunity of insisting that the fifth of the Pope's points be driven home, in and out of season, till it is taken seriously, till States and statesmen begin, at least, to put it into effect. For, Pius XII warns us, every settlement will be incomplete and doomed to ultimate failure:

unless those who guide the policy of nations, and the nations themselves, be penetrated more and more with that spirit which alone can give force and vigour to the otherwise dead letter of international agreement; by that spirit of delicate and sensitive responsibility which weighs and measures all human enactments in accordance with the sacred and unshakeable principles of the Divine Law; with that hunger and thirst for justice which was proclaimed in the Sermon on the Mount and which has, as its natural postulate, a moral justice; with that universal

charity which is the epitome and the highest expression of the Christian ideal, and which builds a bridge even towards those who have no share in the Faith we so proudly treasure.

That is all very fine, it will be urged, but at the moment we must concentrate on winning the war: we can consider all this afterwards. The reply is that, if you do not think these thoughts now, you may win the war but you will not know how to set about making and winning the true peace. "Sufficient for the day"—has a certain scriptural warrant: but, as a programme, its shortcomings are only too obvious.

Middle East Problems

THE war's centre of gravity has shifted from the Balkans to the Middle East, from Greece to Syria and Iraq. The situation in Syria is unpleasant and serious. German troopcarrying planes have been re-fuelling at Syrian aerodromes obviously with French connivance. General Dentz's pathetic excuse that these planes had made forced landings and were sent off at once, is dishonest and dishonourable. Syria possesses a number of aerodromes, those at Rayak, Aleppo, Palmyra and Damascus being important. Nazi troops could not be transported by air except for this re-fuelling at Syrian air-ports: the distance from Athens or Rhodes to Mosul is too great for a Junkers troop-carrier on one flight. Reports are current that the French authorities have allowed the transit of war material to Iraq for use, eventually, by the Nazi troops. Clashes between our forces and the French are possible-some would consider them very likely. But what of the Syrians themselves? As has been noted previously in these comments, the history of the French mandate has proved a stormy one from the start. This position, it must be granted, was never easy. The people are mixed, both in race and religion. Syria proper has a population, nearly eighty per cent. of which is Sunni Moslem: the adjacent province of Lebanon has a small Christian majority, largely of Maronites. Syrian nationalism is strong, and during recent years, it has been decidedly anti-French. After the 1914-18 war the Syrian Nationalists hoped for complete independence. Indeed, the Emir Feisal was proclaimed King of Syria in March 1920. French arms expelled him from Damascus and set up a French High Commissioner. A Syrian-French Treaty, on the lines of those concluded between Britain

and both Iraq and Egypt, was prepared and actually signed in 1936 but, for various reasons, it was never ratified in Paris. The three years from 1936 to the outbreak of war were uneasy ones, and there was at times serious unrest in the provinces. The war brought unity for a period: the defeat of France brought two important pronouncements: the first from Britain, that she could not permit Syria to be employed as a base of operations by any enemy power; the second from the Foreign Minister of Iraq, General Nuri es Said, that both Turkey and Iraq considered that Syria should be for the Syrians, and should enjoy full independence. At present, the Syrians would gladly be rid of the French, and therefore the Nazis could discover sympathisers and fifth-columnists among the extremer Nationalists. But by far the majority have no wish to exchange one master for another, and another who would be far harder to remove. The Moslems are opposed to, and contemptuous of, the Italians: the Arab world, as a whole, is opposed to Nazidom, but it is inclined to wait upon events. Military success will be a key to Arab sympathies and support.

Iraq

THE position in Iraq has been some what confused. Till recently it was generally supposed that Iraq, for a young power, was balanced and stable. Its independence was secured by the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of Alliance, signed in 1930. There were internal religious differences—between the Sunni and the Shiah Moslems—and relations of varying cordiality with neighbouring Arab states, friendly, for example, with Transjordan, whose ruler is the grand uncle of the Iraqi boyking, Feisal II, but not very friendly with Ibn Saud, ruler of Saudi Arabia. Despite this, a treaty of Arab Brotherhood was signed between the two countries in April, 1936. In the following year emerged the Saadabad Pact between Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. At the outbreak of war, Iraq severed relations with Germany. But relations with Italy were not broken off in 1940, so that the Italian Legation remained as the centre of Axis intrigue and propaganda. Much was made of supposed anti-Arab incidents in Palestine and Syria, and considerable anti-British feeling was fostered among Iraq army officers. These were responsible for the coup d'état of April 3rd of this year, which brought Rashid Ali to power for a time. Such coups d'état were not unknown in Iraq's short

career. One had occurred in 1936 when General Bekir Sidqi overthrew the Government. King Ghazi died as the result of an accident in April, 1939, and the present Ruler is a child of six. The Regent, Abdul Ilah, was driven from authority by Rashid Ali's coup d'état. British operations in Iraq have been undertaken to secure the rights and positions guaranteed to this country in the Iraqi Treaty of Alliance: these include the maintenance of aerodromes near Basrah and at Habbaniyah; it will be recalled that the trouble in Iraq began with the attempt to interfere with the second of these aerodromes. The pro-Axis Iragis moved too hurriedly. The Nazis could help Rashid Ali only by air transport, with the assistance of Syrian air-ports: to march overland they would have had to overcome Turkish resistance, by persuasion or by force. Berlin broadcasts have boasted that Mosul is one of their immediate objectives. It may well be so. A Near East campaign is being prepared. Will it move eastward through or around Turkey into Iraq? Or from Syria downwards to Palestine and Suez? -with a corresponding "pincer movement" out of Libya?

Other Factors

OVIET RUSSIA and Turkey have to be considered in any summing-up of the Near Eastern situation. The Turks have waited so long that their strategic position is now very much weakened. Their country is now outflanked, on the one side, by the German-occupied Bulgarian coastline and, on the other, by the German infiltration into Syria. Will Soviet Russia remain what used to be called "neutral," willing to supply Germany with war-material, and co-operating, at least to the extent of seizing part of the available spoils. The Soviets have already, by these methods, obtained the Baltic States, a large part of Poland, and Bessarabia. Are they hoping to secure Iran, in whole or part, by the same technique? Northern Persia was always coveted by Czarist Russia as a sphere of influence. Our persistent Russophils in Britain have now abandoned their fatuous belief that the Soviets would eventually side with the "democracies" in the struggle against aggression. The fact is, of course, that Soviet Russia is in mortal dread of Germany. Soviet officials know perfectly well that they dare not attack Germany, and most probably could not resist a Nazi attack. The stupid and unfortunate legend of Soviet power has fascinated for far too long our so-called liberals. The myth

is without foundation. Russia groans beneath one of the most appalling tyrannies the world has ever experienced. If Germany had attacked Russia, she might well have been accepted by the Russian people as Saviour and Liberator. And then the resources of Russia would have been available for the Germans. This is what military minded Germans have always hoped for: and this will remain the chief danger to eventual peace. The one Bolshevik hope is that Europe will be so exhausted after this war that Communism—and therefore Russian influence—can spread. Unless that happens, Communism is doomed, and the Bolsheviks know it.

Developments in France

EVENTS in the Near East are showing how sadly and seriously the position of France is altering. We have always felt considerable sympathy with the Vichy Government, faced—as it was and is—with grave economic problems, and under continual Nazi pressure, both open and concealed. Pétain has succeeded in giving some kind of unity to unoccupied France—no slight achievement—and has attempted to provide a new, if temporary, basis for French living. Up to the present he has been able to fulfil his guarantee that the French fleet would not pass into enemy hands: and except for those territories which have declared themselves for General de Gaulle, the Empire is outwardly intact. The latest developments are, however, ominous-President Roosevelt has called them "sinister." German infiltration into Morocco continues, quite contrary to all French interests since Nazi agents are inflaming local nationalist opinion against France. Such infiltration could not have occurred without official French connivance. General Weygand continues to proclaim the Empire's integrity and its resolve to resist attack, but the more immediate question is how far it is rotting from within. Syrian aerodromes are being used openly by German planes, and it seems certain that war material was being despatched to Rashid Ali, again with French permission. In the event of British measures against Syria it has been suggested that the French would offer only a token resistance. French officers throughout Syria and the Empire are very uneasy, and bewildered by Vichy's rapprochement with Germany. Meanwhile Admiral Darlan is taking more and more on his own shoulders. Pétain can still exercise some restraint but he is old, weary and defeatist. Darlan, who

hopes to succeed to the position of the aged Marshal, is not ready to give way completely to Nazi demands, but he will go a long way in this direction, partly to secure his own position and in part to better conditions in unoccupied France. Personally he is anti-British, though without the vehemence of a Laval, and he was an embittered man after Oran. Does he hope for a German victory? Probably not. But there are Frenchmen who hope for a British victory, but only as the outcome of prolonged war which would exhaust Britain as well as defeat Germany. Then France would emerge—so goes their reasoning—as a great Power, on an equal footing with these two. It is of course conceivable that the present Franco-German collaboration means to go deeper. To have any chance of setting up their New Order, the Nazis require the active co-operation of at least one of the larger European countries. Till a few months ago Italy was destined for that rôle. To-day Italy is thoroughly discredited in German eyes, and the Germans realize that Fascism is thoroughly discredited in Italy. They must discover another junior partner. It may well be that this is their real proposal to Admiral Darlan. The bait might include the guarantee that no French territory need be ceded to Italy and the promise that the African Empire would be preserved-naturally with some German co-management. Such a position, with its tainted bait, would be abominated by the great majority of the French, though it must be remembered that certain French elements, for reasons both political and economic, would be willing to give this full cooperation.

Italy's Plight

THOSE who have known and loved Italy are genuinely distressed at Italy's eclipse. Indignant as Englishmen must be at Mussolini's "stab in the back" of France and the shabby Greek campaign, they draw a distinction between the German and the Italian enemy. Hitler represents the Prussian spirit and methods of war. Mussolini is a passing phenomenon. Italy's human and civilized traditions will outlive this episode of a militant Duce. Reports from Italy confirm these suggestions. At the moment the defeatist atmosphere is not as marked as it was three months ago. But the people understand that any improvement in the military situation is due entirely to German assistance. They see also the price that must be

paid for it. After all, Italian unity was secured in the teeth of German opposition. The presence of high German officers in the Roman Hotel de Russie and the conviction that these are directing Italian policy, irritate the average Italian. The normal citizen was quite opposed to his country's entry into war, and he must be somewhat ashamed at the manner of it. Even the handful that clamoured for war has since been disillusioned. The campaign against the Greeks was grossly mismanaged: the Italian staff-work was appalling, as it proved too. in Libya-and the troops know this. Even now that the Grecian war is over, German intervention came too late to save Italy's face. Abyssinian defeats have spread an atmosphere of pessimism. The rectification of the Libyan situation is seen to be due once again to the help of the detested Germans. Reports suggest that Mussolini's prestige has entirely gone. He remains in power for two reasons: the first, that there is no obvious alternative; the second, that the Germans could easily suppress all opposition. Fascism is dead: it died, according to a prominent American correspondent, on the battlefields of Albania. The Italian people is now largely anti-Mussolini, and what he has achieved in the past, is generally forgotten. He did achieve a good deal for his country. But then came the almost inevitable turning point—that point when men who wield absolute power, do go wrong. Fascism was slipping from his grasp, was losing its drive. He sought to revitalize it from Germany, and so committed himself and his countrymen to the German adventure. Success might just have carried him over this awkward break with the civilized world. But success did not come. He failed, and failed ignominiously. The Italian, essentially realist in outlook, has rejected him with his shoddy system. Unfortunately, there is no practicable alternative at present. Mussolini is discredited. But then, so is the House of Savoy: the Prince of Piedmont's former popularity has faded: Badoglio is an old man. There are no leaders left-after twenty years of Fascist control. Fatalistically, the Italian waits either for a Nazi victory (Nazi successes have certainly impressed them), in which case they might be allotted some, on the whole unwanted, plums-or for an Allied triumph from which they would not have much to hope.

Crete

HERE is no portion of Europe with quite as long a "history" as the island of Crete which was lately the centre of the Mediterranean battle. Four thousand years ago. it enjoyed a civilization which archaeologists of the late nineteenth century recovered for us. Large "Minoan" palaces (the name "Minoan" after Minos, a real or legendary Cretan king) have been discovered at Cnossos, near Candia, and at Phaetsus, in the south of the island, together with a smaller royal villa at Hagia Triada. "Minoan" towns have been unearthed, in the literal sense, at Cnossos, Gournia, Palaikastro, and elsewhere. Twenty centuries before Christ this civilization flourished until 1,400 B.C. when it appears, with the coming of Greeks from the mainland, to have declined. Modern excavations let us see something of its monuments, its religion and art, its legal and political systems. The Cretans were in close contact with Egypt, and evidence of their own influence has been traced in Greece, Illyria, in Sicily and the province of Venice. Homer could speak of the hundred cities of the island, and Greek chroniclers record that Crete was the first Power to build a navy. This Cretan culture faded away—to be little more than a memory in the Greek tradition. Crete itself became Greek, remaining independent of Philip of Macedon and his successors, but losing its independence to Rome in 67 It formed part of the Roman Empire and later the Eastern Empire until 823 A.D., when the Saracens captured it. For more than a hundred years it was a nest of pirates and a market for slaves. In the second half of the tenth century it was regained for the Empire which shortly afterwards sold it to the Venetians. These established a seat of government at Candia, and for a long time Crete was known as the Isle of Candia. That Crete was no easy proposition for the attacker is proved by two facts: the first, that the Venetians were able to hold it against the Turks for two hundred years after Constantinople had been occupied: the second, that, when it was eventually invaded by Turkish troops, more than 50,000 of these took part in the attack. Candia was besieged for twenty years. The siege began in 1648, but the city and island did not capitulate until 1660. Venice was allowed to retain three tiny islands off the N.W. coast: but these were taken by the Turks in 1718. For more than two centuries Crete was under Turkish rule and misrule. Revolutions occurred spasmodically, there was continuous strife between Christian and Moslem inhabitants.

When Greece secured her full independence in 1830, the allied Powers (France, Britain and Russia) obtained the cession of Crete to Egypt. In 1840 it returned once more to Turkish sovereignty—to become, in 1868, more or less autonomous. Stormy days were not yet past: Turkish and Greek interests clashed there: at the beginning of this century it was administered by a Greek prince and was later incorporated in the Greek kingdom. Crete has a long and interesting history, a history of ancient culture and troubled times: the storm has broken over the island once again.

A Little Sense about Spain

IN a book just published Mr. George Glasgow remarks that most governments—on the continent at least—decide their preferences and allegiances in much the same spirit as a punter puts his money on a horse: for the only reason that he thinks it will win. This was certainly true of the Italian government, both in this and the world war: it was and is sufficiently true of Bulgaria. But what of Spain? Is Spain pro-Axis or going pro-Axis on the same principle? We must remember that Spain has had a consistently bad Press in Britain since the beginning of the Civil War. That Spain is on the point of attacking Gibraltar, that General Franco has expressed his readiness to let Nazi troops pass through Spain—these reports were widespread a year ago, and then three months ago: they are again current to-day. What truth is there in them? The Gibraltar problem is no new one. No doubt Nazi propaganda can stir a Spanish sense of grievance that Britain should hold a tiny part of the Spanish mainland. But the Spaniards are not likely to be impressed with Germany's promise of Gibraltar to them. It is easy to promise what you do not possess, and they know that Gibraltar has been held by Britain with Spain's virtual consent. They could have always created difficulties there, had they really wished. To the average Spaniard the Englishman is a more comfortable neighbour than would be the German—even on the lowest principle of "the devil you know." Economically, Spain's situation to-day is very grave. The after-effects of the Civil War, both material and spiritual, are pronounced. Passions, so savagely aroused, do not easily die down. The work of reconstruction has been seriously delayed both by the European war and by internal complications.

RERUM NOVARUM 1891-1941

'N the course of the years that have passed since the encyclical "Rerum Novarum," on the condition of the workers, was issued by Pope Leo XIII in 1891, the custom has grown up of celebrating it annually in various countries. including our own. So unique an honour paid to a papal document may perhaps have caused some surprise to those who, unacquainted with the development of Catholic social thought. have glanced through the pamphlet which contains the English translation.1 They will have noticed in its pages a defence of private property against those socialists who wish to abolish it, a longish account of the importance of religion as a factor in the solution of the social problem (an account which they may have passed over rather impatiently), some pages of political philosophy (which they probably skipped), a defence of wage-justice, and, as regards the concrete social programme which the British mind so often considers all-important, a strong recommendation of what we call industrial legislation together with some observations about trade-unions, observations which accord so well with our own practice, or professions, that they may seem little more than platitudes. If that is all, they may be inclined to think, why these celebrations?

Yet there is a sounder instinct than they realize behind this annual commemoration and behind the particular celebrations which mark this the fiftieth birthday of the encyclical. The significance of "Rerum Novarum" lies not so much in the concrete proposals it puts forward, though they have their importance, or in its religious teaching, familiar to all acquainted with the Catholic faith, or even in its political and social philosophy, already well established in previous ecclesiastical documents (including earlier encyclicals of Leo himself); not in any of these taken in themselves, without relation to the circumstances of the time when the encyclical appeared. It is the historical context of the Pope's letter which imparted to it that epoch-making character which it was seen to possess when it appeared and which has been recognized and celebrated ever since. The most authoritative commentary on "Rerum Novarum" which has appeared, Pius XI's encyclical

VOL. CLXXVII.

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¹ Published by the Catholic Social Guild, Oxford.

on the Social Order, makes this plain even to those who happen to be unacquainted with the history of the Catholic social movement.

It must not be forgotten that Leo XIII was writing primarily for Catholics, many of whom throughout the world were actively interesting themselves in the social problems raised by the advent of industrialism. That differences of opinion amongst them were showing themselves, and threatening to weaken or even destroy the effectiveness of the Catholic movement, can surprise only those who imagine that Catholics necessarily think alike on all topics. We may take it for granted that a certain number of Catholics outside the social movement were not awake to the magnitude and danger of the forces threatening social order and welfare, and that to others social questions did not appear to fall within the sphere of the Pope's jurisdiction. To those who were complacent with existing social arrangements "Rerum Novarum," with its insistence on the urgency of the problem and the need to find a speedy remedy, must have come as a salutary shock; while those who took too narrow a view of the teaching mission of the Church must have been surprised to find that, according to the Pope himself, he would have failed in his duty as the chief guardian of religion if he had kept silence in face of the social crisis [13].2 It is significant that even forty years later Pius XI considered it necessary to reassert, with still greater emphasis, the right and duty of the Pope "to deal authoritatively with social and economic problems," the urgency of which he clearly considered to have increased since Leo wrote.3

The solemn declaration by Pope Leo XIII that in many respects the social conditions prevailing at the close of a century of great material progress were intolerable [1, 2, 35, 44], and that the Church was actively interested in their reform [1, 13], is enough in itself to constitute "Rerum Novarum" a landmark in human history. It gave definite approbation to the growing Catholic social movement which had begun to arouse suspicions, even hostility, in the minds of many people, including Catholics. It made it clear once and for all that the Church is on the side of the victims of economic exploitation

in The Clergy Review, May, 1941.

The numbers in square brackets refer to the official numeration of the paragraphs in the current edition of the encyclical.

" Quadragesimo Anno," pars. 41, 62, 112.

¹ "Quadragesimo Anno," pars. 3-8. C.T.S. and B.S.G. edition. The historical back-ground is described in my article on "The Jubilee of Rerum Novarum" in The Clergy Review, May, 1041.

and social oppression, so that, as Pius XI has said, Christian working-men felt themselves justified and defended by the

highest authority on earth.

The picture which Leo draws of the condition of the workers is sombre enough to alarm the most complacent. The political and economic revolutions of the nineteenth century, far from introducing social harmony and justice, resulted in a division of the population into two great classes, divided by an enormous gulf. On the one hand, a very wealthy minority, economically and politically very powerful because very wealthy. monopolizing the control of industry and commerce, and using its control over production to further its own interests; on the other, the great mass of the labouring poor, propertyless, resentful and ever ready for revolt, suffering under undeserved poverty and treated as mere instruments for profit-making, as though they were things and not human beings of infinite value, unable to defend themselves because the ancient gilds had been destroyed and social institutions "emancipated" from Christianity [1, 2, 17, 33, 35, 44]. It is as though Leo were comparing the actual position with the watchword of the French Revolution—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. His picture is, of course, drawn with bold strokes, and does not attempt to portray all the various gradations between the proletarians (a term he frequently uses) and the "very wealthy and very powerful" class which controls the economic machine. We are reminded of Disraeli's description of the Two Nations in "Sybil"; indeed, in one passage [29] Leo speaks of the Nation of the Wealthy (though our English translation misses this). It was against these social conditions that the European Catholic social movement, in face of opposition from those infected with laissez-faire liberalism, was agitating, while steadily refusing to ally itself with the much more numerous battalions of Marxist socialism, or to accept their theory that. so long as there are classes, there will inevitably be classwarfare.

One of the Pope's main objects was to encourage that movement, and convince Catholics who distrusted it that it expressed Catholic principles as applied to the social and economic sphere. His method was to attempt what he calls "the difficult task" of defining the rights and duties arising out of the relations between "the wealthy and the proletarians, those who provide capital and those who furnish labour" [1]. To discuss rights is to discuss justice; to discuss duties is to

discuss both justice and charity. No Catholic would have denied that employers had duties of charity to their employees. What was necessary was to impress upon all that the field of justice was wider than some realized, that the proletariat as well as employers had strict rights which must be respected, that (in the words of Pius XI¹) charity cannot cover up violations of justice, even though these be tolerated or sanc-

tioned by the laws of the State.

The key-note of the Pope's treatment of the question of rights and duties, one which is constantly repeated in the encyclicals of Pius XI, is the value and dignity of human personality, arising from the fact that every man has an immortal soul. As persons all men are equal, whatever their status or function. All of them bear imprinted on their souls the image and likeness of God, the Father of all alike, Who created them that they might so live in this world as to be happy in the vision of Eternal Truth and the love of the Infinite Good hereafter. All redeemed by Christ, all have been ennobled with the dignity of being called to be sons of God, co-heirs with Christ. This is the truth about man as reason, perfected by revelation. makes it known, and as the Catholic Church has always taught it. From it follows the inescapable conclusion that no one can have the right to violate the dignity of man, or to put obstacles in the way of any man's spiritual development, not even on the plea that the man himself consents. No such consent can be valid, for it would contradict man's duty to God. To no one is it allowable to sell his soul into slavery [16, 21, 32]. Far from being "the opium of the people", this spiritual and religious view of man is the only charter of his liberty. To abandon it is to destroy the basis of morality, and to lose the only standard by which we can truly judge values in this present life [18]. All this is traditional Catholic doctrine, familiar to all who have been properly instructed in their religion, though not all have seen its applications to social problems.

First of all are the duties, binding in strict justice on employers and employed as such, which follow from it. The human personality of the worker must be respected; he is not a slave, or a thing, or a mere "hand", but a human being with an immortal soul. There can be no excuse for those who would exploit him as a mere instrument for profit-making, or for those who ignore his inalienable rights to spiritual as well as

^{1 &}quot; Quadragesimo Anno," par. 4.

material welfare [16]. (It is interesting to observe that the Pope reserves a more detailed discussion of what this means in practice to the section of the encyclical which treats of the duties of the State, as we shall see.) The worker, on his part, must be conscientious in carrying out such just agreements as he has freely made. He has a duty not to injure the person or property of his employer; and in protecting his own interests he must abstain from violence or sedition, refusing to be enticed by the deceptive promises of agitators [16]. Were these mutual obligations fulfilled, the causes of class-hostility would be removed [17], for class-warfare is certainly not inevitable

One does not need to be a Christian to admit the existence of these rights and duties; it is enough not to be a materialist. The genuine Christian will be second to none in his respect for the human dignity of his fellow-man, but in addition he will treat him as his brother in Christ; indeed, as if he were Christ, for to act otherwise is to sin against charity and Christian fraternity, the only firm social bond [20, 21]. He will bear in mind that whatever spiritual or material goods he possesses are to be used not only for his own perfection but also for the benefit of others. The rich will remember the severe words of Christ, "Woe to you that are rich . . . Woe to you that are filled," and that they must render one day a strict account to God of the use they have made of their wealth. The poor will not make the mistake of thinking that poverty and the need to earn a living by toil are against the dignity of man, which consists in moral goodness. Rather they will recall that Our Lord earned his living, and that he called the poor in spirit blessed, inviting all who labour and are burdened to come to Him [18, 19, 20]. It is easy for the unbeliever to sneer at Christianity's message to the poor, as though the Church made herself the hypocritical accomplice of those unjust stewards of power and wealth whom she denounces; it is even not impossible for Christians to take shelter behind it in order to avoid their social duties. But no one who has read the entire encyclical can, without insincerity, so misinterpret that message; and, to put the point beyond misunderstanding, Leo repudiates the idea that the Church is indifferent to the earthly welfare of the proletariat. She wishes them to improve their material condition, and does all she can, not only by her insistence on sound morality but also by her many works of benevolence, to assist them to do so. Official State assistance to the poor can

never be an adequate substitute for institutions inspired by

devoted Christian charity [23, 24, 30].

This explanation of the respective functions of justice and of Christian charity makes it clear that the latter does not supersede the former, but perfects it [18]. "Charity," as Pius XI put it, "will never be true charity unless it takes justice into constant account." It is impossible to treat another as a brother in Christ unless one is ready to respect his personality and its rights. Applying this to the conditions of the workers,

Leo arrives at some very practical conclusions.

In the first place, the worker has the right to sufficient leisure for the practice of religion [32] and for restoring the mental and bodily power he has expended on his work; so much so that every labour-contract is morally subject to the condition (even if not explicitly mentioned) that the hours of employment are not to be so long as to exclude leisure for these purposes, and the worker cannot validly waive this condition. What the just length of the working day is depends, of course, on climatic conditions, on the nature of the work and its effect on the health of the worker. The Pope mentions mining (of whatever kind) as an industry in which hours of labour should be specially adapted to the heaviness of the work and the strain on health; and he utters a warning against employing women or children on tasks unsuited to their sex or age [33; cf. 16]. He insists too on the duty of employers to safeguard moral conditions in places of employment [16, 29].

Perhaps no passages in "Rerum Novarum" have been more closely or more often scrutinized than those which treat of wage-justice. It is beyond question that the Pope condemns, as a violation of justice, any exploitation of the workers with a view to increasing profits, and that he admits the need for taking into account several factors (enumerated by Pius XI)² before deciding the amount of a just wage in an actual situation [17]. It is clear too that he does not consider the wage-system to be intrinsically immoral, as some have held it to be. Controversies, however, have arisen over those paragraphs which deal with the minimum wage due in justice [34, 35], the chief point at issue being whether Leo teaches that it should be sufficient to support the worker, his wife, and a connatural number of dependent children, or the worker only. It is impossible to

¹ "Atheistic Communism," par. 49 ² "Quadragesimo Anno," pars. 66-75.

enter here into this discussion1; one remark, however, must be made. Leo's purpose in speaking of the just minimum wage was not primarily to decide how much that wage is, but, as he himself tells us, to refute the common idea that wage-justice is violated only if the employer defaults in payment of whatever wage the employee has agreed to accept. The employee is not morally entitled to consent to any conditions in the wagecontract which would prevent him from carrying out his natural duties; and there is, therefore, a minimum wage prescribed by natural justice, no matter what the terms of the contract [34: cf. 32]. (This is, of course, in entire conformity with what the Pope had already said about hours of employment [33], and about the worker being bound by contracts freely made by him if they are just [16].) The importance of this teaching is that it firmly opposes the wage-theory of economic liberalism, with which even some Catholics were infected. As to the detailed determination of just wage-rates, Leo explicitly mentions it as one of the functions of the organizations of employers and employed, mentioned below, under the general supervision of the State [34].

The question of private property was very much to the fore in 1891 on account of the propaganda of socialists in favour of collectivism. Leo fully admits the maldistribution of wealth under the existing socio-economic régime, and the urgent necessity for a remedy [35], but he denies that collectivism would benefit the workers [4]. State-destruction of natural rights is not the way to secure human welfare [10], and man has a natural right to own durable and productive property, including the land. He proves this by various arguments; man's distinctive power of prevision and provision [5, 6]: his natural duty to provide for his family [9, 10]: loss of civil liberty and of stimulus to effort, and social discord resulting from collectivism [12]: the general consent of mankind [8]. He makes a special point of refuting the arguments of those who deny the rightfulness of private ownership of land [7, 8].

Having thus defended the institution of private ownership as

¹ The arguments are given in my "Catholic Social Principles," ch. 3. Burns, Oates and Washbourne.

² Some of the phrases in par. 5 are identical with those of Cicero, "De Officiis," lib. i, c.4.

³ In a phrase which had almost escaped notice until Pius XI drew attention to it, in "Quadragesimo Anno," par. 49, Leo recognizes that the institution of private property may legitimately assume different forms, decided by custom or law. This is more fully discussed in "The Right to Private Property," a paper included in "Moral Principles and Practice," p. 173. Sheed and Ward.

both natural to man and necessary for social life, the Pope reminds property-owners that they cannot escape responsibility for the use they make of their property. Even if the State does not exercise its right of so regulating the use of private property as to promote the welfare of the community [35], there are the precepts of the moral law, taught by the Church and to some extent perceived by pre-Christian philosophers, enjoining the obligation of using one's possessions not only for oneself but also for those in need [19]. The Christian doctrine of property is not to be confused with the creed of individualism, even though both concur in rejecting collectivism.

Far, then, from admitting the collectivist theory that the best way of improving the conditions of the proletariat is to deny the natural right of anyone to own productive property, the Pope demands that the way be opened for as many as possible to exercise that right. Laws should be enacted to facilitate this, and to foster the practice of saving out of wages. He also points out the social advantages of enabling people to become owners of land on which they can work and from which they can obtain not merely food but also the means of a decent

livelihood for themselves and their dependants [35].

The normal working-man, after a certain age, is married and has a wife and children. He lives a family-life, and whatever threatens the welfare of the family threatens him. Leo XIII was as convinced as every other Pope that proposals intended to give the State the power to interfere in normal family life, far from increasing social welfare, would be disastrous. He fully agreed that the State should intervene, when necessary, to prevent the violation of mutual rights within the family, but he strongly protested against attempts by the State to usurp the rights of parents. The family, he insists, is a true society with its own natural rights prior to those of the State. It springs from the natural right to marry. It is the cellfrom which the social body is built up, but it is not therefore absorbed so as to lose its identity. Children, it is true, are members of the State, but only because they are members of families which compose the political community. Therefore to attempt to substitute State authority for the natural responsibility of parents is to violate natural justice. The duty of the State is to come to the assistance of needy families requiring public help [9, 10, 11].

Trade-unions in all countries have had a hard fight for recognition, in face of opposition by employers and govern-

ments. Leo puts it beyond doubt that no Catholic is entitled to oppose trade-unionism as such. The right to associate with others for any legitimate purpose is as strong and natural as the right to form the Great Society which is called the State, and for the latter to attack it is to attack its own raison d'être [37, 38]. He has much to say about the purposes and methods of these associations which the reader must be left to study in the encyclical itself [42-3]. In the allusion to the possibility of unions including employers as well as employed [36] and to what we now call joint industrial councils [43], will be perceived the notion of a gild organization adapted to modern conditions, to which Leo had referred on earlier occasions and which Pius XI developed in "Quadragesimo Anno," pars 83-87.

Strong differences of opinion had begun to appear in the Catholic social movement about State-intervention in industrial relations, and threatened to split the movement. Consequently Leo XIII treats of this subject in considerable detail. He rejects laissez-faire liberalism as decisively as he does socialist totalitarianism. With the former, he agrees that freedom of action must be left to individuals and families, subject to the limitation that they must not be allowed to injure anyone with impunity. But he adds that it is the duty of governments to safeguard the welfare of the community and of all its constituent parts [28]. The proletariat in particular ought to receive special protection from the State, both because of the important contribution furnished by the workers to the common good and because the poor are so little able to protect themselves [27, 29]. On the other hand he maintains that the State is not omnicompetent. Its laws must not go beyond what is necessary to remedy social wrongs or avert dangers [28, 29]. He gives some examples to illustrate the sort of dangers and abuses he has in mind [29], and it is to be noted that they include the violations of the rights of the workers which are detailed in later paragraphs and which we have already discussed, viz. dangerous moral conditions in factories, offices, etc., insufficient leisure, injury to health from overwork, employment of women or children on tasks unsuited to their age or sex. With regard to strikes (which so often injure not only the community but the workers themselves), he urges that laws should be made to forestall industrial disputes by removing those frequent causes, too long or too heavy labour, and the

¹ E.g. in his address to French workers in October 1889; "Acta Leonis XIII," t. iii, p. 282.

belief that wage-rates are too low [29, 31]. The sort of laws he has in mind is indicated in a later passage [34], in which he says that questions about just wage-rates, hours of labour, healthy conditions in factories, etc., should be remitted for settlement to the organizations of employers and employed (mentioned above), with such backing from the State as circumstances may require. Although some of those in the Catholic social movement who distrusted the intervention of the State (a distrust for which the record of "liberal" anti-Catholic governments was chiefly responsible) were reluctant to admit that Leo had sided with the "interventionists" in the movement, a papal letter to the interventionist leader de Mun, approving his programme, settled the question.1

Leo XIII, when he published "Rerum Novarum," did not profess to be issuing a sort of infallible text-book of Catholic sociology to which anyone could at any time refer in order to find the official answer to every social problem that might arise. Certain questions were left open for further discussion (e.g. the exact character of a "corporative order", the controversy about the just minimum wage), and some were not touched upon because they had not yet arisen.2 But he accomplished the task he set himself; to give powerful encouragement to the Catholic social movement, to avert from it the danger of disunity on vital points, and to indicate to it the course it must steer between the Scylla of economic liberalism and the

Charybdis of collectivism.

LEWIS WATT.

¹ Moon, "The Labour Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France,"

p. 174. Macmillan.

"Quadragesimo Anno," par. 40. Pius XI similarly recognizes that the last word has not yet been said about the difficult problem of harmonizing the right of private property with the needs of an industrialized society (48).

EDITORIAL NOTE

All contributions submitted to the Editor must be typed and be accompanied by a sufficiently large stamped addressed envelope—stamps (or Post Office coupons from abroad) alone will not suffice. Articles so submitted should be concerned with matters of general interest, and be submitted should be concerned with matters of general interest, and be the fruit of expert knowledge or original research. They should not ordinarily exceed 3,500 words, and must be intended for exclusive publication in the "Month," if accepted.

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(14s. per annum post free).

RED SANDALS

T seemed like a touch of feminine perversity in Santa Lucina to place her shrine at the top of a circuitous mountain path, shaggy with as many varieties of spined plants as Penance herself could desire, and verging with undue casualness over the steep mountain side. Not the sort of route for the non-chalant Beppo to drive over;—he who liked to swing round elegantly on one wheel and cheat death by an eyelash. Lady Fountain shivered and drew closer to her niece, eyeing her reproachfully. Why must this child have a passion for archaeology? Why must a handful of decayed stones draw her as the magnet draws the steel? Tiresome in any girl, it was almost eccentric in one who (as the gossip writers repeated interminably) was the star débutante of her year.

The car made one reckless plunge forwards, side-stepped and then stopped abruptly. "Eccolo!" said Beppo, as one who

had achieved all that could be expected of him.

"But what has happened?" Lady Fountain's nervous eyebrows worked rapidly. "Beppo, we are not at the top yet?"

"Si, Signora. Or as much near as you can go with a car. The pilgrims walk to see Santa Lucina—she hears them better so."

"Oh, dear!" The glare of that bright green earth and bright blue sky made Lady Fountain's eyes burn intolerably. "Really, Miranda, I think you must let me off the climb. Do you mind? I can wait here—unless of course there are

bandits. If there are Beppo must go with you."

"And leave you to be kidnapped? That's really too sweet of you, Tante!" Miranda's laugh was younger than her sophisticated vermilion lips would suggest. "There are no bandits now and it would bore Beppo dreadfully to watch me stone-

gazing."

"I do think you are rash, but of course you will have your own way." Lady Fountain tweaked her hat over her eyes, and picked up a paper-backed novel. "Now, Miranda, half an hour and no more. We're dining with Tony Lassiter to-night—don't forget."

"I haven't forgotten." Miranda wished that her voice did not sound so small and childish. But Tante was so beautifully

obtuse—or could appear to be. Miranda swung herself out of the car and stood for a moment, silent and abstracted. Silhouetted against that incredibly blue sky she was like a lovely little Tanagra statue come to life—exquisite from her small bright head to her slender sandalled feet. Red sandals to match the red kerchief which she now knotted over her head.

"I don't envy you your climb in those sandals," her aunt

said dryly.

"No—it will be rather grim." She laughed and turned towards the sun. "Excelsior! 'the shades of night were falling fast.'"

"It is not night yet, Signorina!" protested Beppo who

prided himself on his English.

"How right you are, Beppo." She saluted the sun with a wave of her small brown hand. "Brother Sun, deal kindly with me for I go on a pilgrimage." She turned away and was soon lost to sight by a bend of the path.

"Very romantic," Beppo said approvingly. "Not all the young English ladies are so. The Signorina she make a good

nun."

"How absurd!" said Lady Fountain. She did not approve of discussing nieces with chauffeurs, but of course this was Italy, not London. "Don't you know that we are both Protestants?"

"Ah, yes-heretics, of course." Beppo smiled forgivingly.

"But you can convert yourselves perhaps?"

"In any case nuns are not romantic, surely?" Lady Fountain protested.

"Si, si. But their romance is in God. That is why they sing and smile and pray and do not waste time growing old."

"I like that beauty secret," Lady Fountain said gravely.
"But I fear that neither my niece nor I will ever acquire it."
She picked up her novel and turned the pages slowly. Beppo strolled away, flung himself down on a grassy patch and began to smoke. Above where the path reappeared he could see Miranda, moving less alertly but with head held high. "Poverina!" Beppo said sympathetically. A heretic who made a pilgrimage, and in impossible sandals at that, surely deserved a first-class miracle from Santa Lucina? But what could one need when one was so lovely and so young? and, most agreeable of all, so rich?

Miranda, however, was not feeling so fortunate at that moment. Her head throbbed with the heat, and her sandals felt as if they were made of tissue paper. She sighed and glanced upwards, and then caught her breath, for before her was a little temple, dreaming in the sun, with small fine pillars scarcely heavier than their own fine shadows. In such a temple one would find Artemis, with her wise grey eyes; or Diana with her silver bow at rest; or some green-eyed nymph still a little fluttered from eluding her satyr. Or would it be a naïad, shaking thin strands of foam from her transparent hands?

Miranda stood entranced, then hurriedly climbed the last steep stretch of the path. In a few seconds she was inside the temple; the greenish light within cooling her thoughts as well as her dusty and flushed face. It was small, shadowy and silent, with that listening stillness with which the past pervades ancient places. As she stood there rapt in the beauty around her, her mind automatically appraised what she saw. This was of course originally a pagan temple, adapted later to the cult of Santa Lucina. Suddenly she realized that there was no shrine to the saint—an unusual omission. There were faded touches of a fresco on one wall which, as she peered, took shape and were the crude outline of a girl with a bird on her wrist, and a young man playing a shepherd's pipe. Not in the least devout, and not to be associated with the plump Santa Lucina, whom she had last seen extremely over-dressed in red velvet in her shrine in the village church.

It was then Miranda realized that she was not alone. There was someone else outside the small pillared doorway—perhaps a drowsy pilgrim whose sleep her coming had disturbed? Craning her head Miranda saw that it was a girl about her own age, who stood leaning against the temple wall, her long fine hands outspread against the stonework, and her long narrow feet poised as if she had just alighted there or was about to take flight. The wind added to that impression of flight by lifting her white dress out of its smooth and precise folds; a streamline garment, Miranda noted approvingly, and most becoming to the young, slender wearer.

As if conscious that she was being watched the other girl turned, glanced at Miranda and smiled a slow sweet smile. She raised her hand and made a welcoming gesture.

"Come out into the sun with me," she said.

Miranda responded eagerly. There was something so fine and lovely in that frank young face, and the stillness in it lent a deeper beauty to the sudden smile. For a moment the two girls stood side by side without speaking, then Miranda said: "I didn't see you when I came up a few minutes ago. Were

you here long?"

"I don't know how long." The other girl smiled apologetically. "Perhaps it was only a few hours—I lost count of time. But it seemed like eternity itself until they had finished with me."

"Finished with you?" Miranda's mind veered back suddenly—could there be bandits here after all? She continued somewhat tremulously: "I don't quite understand what you

mean. Surely nobody has hurt you here?"

"Hurt?" The fine hands made a dismissing gesture. "Yes, it hurt terribly of course. But in Rome they thought of even worse things to do to us. My brother told me—I was so sick when he described it all."

"Shall we sit down?" Miranda said, feeling increasingly bewildered. She fished in a linen wallet slung from her wrist, and brought out a little package: "Will you have some chocolate?"

The other girl laughed gently, and shook her head.

"No, thank you. I need nothing now. But once I loved eating figs. At my father's villa we grew them so well that Caesar sent his gardeners to learn from ours. I talked to them and it was then I heard there was a strange new sect called the Christians."

Miranda felt her heart beginning to throb. Was this exquisite person mad? or merely an eccentric who held too closely to some theory of re-incarnation? Yet a covert glance at that face shamed all such surmises. How brilliantly unclouded were those blue eyes! How serene and controlled the voice that continued:

"It is nice that you have come. I like to see other girls, and if they bring their lovers I send them back together singing. You see I still remember Claudius. It does not hurt now, of course, but once it was the worst wound of all."

She had seated herself beside Miranda. The long slender feet were visible, now, and glancing at them Miranda started violently. For in each there was a ragged purpling wound, as if a nail had been driven through the flesh.

"Oh, what have you done?" Miranda exclaimed aghast. "How did it happen. Surely—" (she blenched and went on

valiantly)-" surely it wasn't bandits?"

The other girl glanced indifferently at her own feet, and then displayed her hands wherein the same grim wounds were visible.

"It was His death," she said. "I told myself that till my last breath. But I had to say it aloud, there were so many other thoughts in my mind. You know when you are unhappy, you take out a thought and say to it 'now play with me'; or to a memory 'now you must live again.' So I thought of Ostia and how mother and father held me up as a child to see the ships. And I thought of Claudius and how he had picked me cyclamen, and said we would grow it on our terrace when we were married. But that made me less brave. Then I said 'I am thirsty,' and they laughed at me. And I said 'It was His death and I am His.' And I hid my face against my cross and thirsted no longer."

It seemed to Miranda that all the light in the world was for

a moment focussed on that tranquil face.

"I believe you are dead!" she said tremulously. "What we call a ghost. I was too stupid to guess—I thought that you were alive like me."

"Oh, much more alive than that!" A laugh like a little bell pealed out suddenly. "But you must wait to find that out for yourself. I used to think and think, but how can one die and yet be living and laughing somewhere? It was my worst temptation. Clement the deacon told me to ask God to take it from me. But it was with me until the end."

"Ah," Miranda said faintly. It was too easy to picture such

thoughts beating like bats about a dying head.

"Claudius," she ventured at last. "Did he die with you?"

"Oh, no." The clear blue eyes looked tranquilly into hers. "He was the Governor, and it was said that he had killed more Christians than anyone else in the province. I thought it so cruel a sport; but he told me they wanted to die for their Christ so he was rendering them a service. I wondered who was this Christ for whom it was so sweet to die? And then I met Clement the deacon and he made me understand. So I told Claudius that I, too, was a Christian."

She paused and made an expressive gesture.

"He said that I could never have loved him. And that even his slaves would laugh at him for choosing a madwoman for his bride. My father tried to kill me with his dagger, but my brother saved me and brought me here to hide. On the way I dropped one of my sandals—they were red, like yours. And so Claudius and his soldiers found me."

"He saw you die?" Miranda shrank from her own words.
"Yes. I watched his face, there, against the pillar. I had

seen it so at home, after supper, when we came out to watch the sunset over the hills. But then we had smiled at each other in the shadows. When I remembered that I tried to smile at him again, but I did not do it very well."

"Oh!" said Miranda and hid her face in her hands.

"Don't cry," said the other girl. "Though it is nice to see you so kind. I was not always kind, you know. I stabbed a slave with a bodkin because he tore the fringe of my cloak. Clement the deacon said that I was a tiger for Christ to tame."

"Did He?" Miranda ventured.

"I died too soon. And you know I was so angry that I had to die! As I ran up the hill to this place I said aloud, 'But why must I hide like a rat? Why cannot I live on and have love and children and old age with honour?' Then my brother cried to me, 'Let me go back and say that you are not mad after all. That you hate this Christ and will say so publicly in the forum if Claudius wishes it. After all you can think as you please, but at least say the right thing now and save yourself.' But I told him, 'Be quiet, little fool! If I am to die, at least let me make ready.' And I began to say to Christ that I was afraid to die, but that I loved Him. And after that when they caught me here I found that I was no longer angry and not much afraid."

Miranda stared unseeingly at the exquisite vista before her. The far hills were almost translucently green in the sunlight; the thickly clustered olives rippled grey and green like waves as the wind stirred their leafage. The scent of the sun-baked earth was aromatic; the drone of a passing bee came to her, remotely and drowsily, as part of that vivid external world in which her own saddened thoughts had no part.

"I can't bear any more," she said unsteadily. "You're so lovely and so young! It's impossible to think of you as dead. And yet you had to go through such agony "—she caught her breath sharply, then went on: "When I came up the hill I was feeling as you did so long ago. Why should God hurt me so much? Why should I put myself to death?—all the wild bitter things that you felt in your own heart."

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"I remember," said the other girl.

"But I'm not heroic like you," Miranda made a hopeless gesture. "I'm young and I'm in love. Tony needs me as much as I need him. How can I refuse him happiness? Heaven knows he has suffered enough from his heartless wife. There would be no obstacle if I didn't believe in Christ!—but I do, oh, yes, I do!"

She turned despairingly towards the other girl, her voice

unrecognizably vehement even to herself.

"How can I be as brave as you were? You were young too, you knew what life held for you and Claudius, yet you threw it all aside. You gave up your lover——"

The other girl rose and looked deeply into Miranda's eyes, a

calm, exultant gaze.

"But I have found Love!" she said; and stretching out her arms slowly, she stood straight and still as one crucified against

the brilliant sky.

"Ah!" said Miranda, and covered her face with her trembling hands. This, then, was Love. Love that remains when the beloved has departed; that assuages the long heartache of living, and at the last lifts the faithful heart from its cross and takes it home to its beatitude.

"I understand," Miranda said at last. "Even if you are only a dream, or if I have imagined that you came to me here—if I never see you again, still you have told me your secret,

Santa Lucina!"

She turned and raised herself on her elbow. The tall grass around her waved in the light, and the wind lifted it gently like a girl's fluttering hair. On a sudden impulse she bent her face and kissed that stretch of shimmering grass, as one who kisses holy ground.

Lady Fountain was pacing up and down beside the car, impatiently awaiting the slow, limping figure that came towards her.

"My dear Miranda! Even with his suicidal driving Beppo will never get us back in time for dinner. Tony will think that we are not coming."

"We're not," Miranda said briefly. "Sorry, Tante. But of course we'll telephone and explain when we get back."

She took her place in the car at her aunt's side; and for a moment rested thankfully against the cushion which was thrust behind her head. It struck Lady Fountain that her face was pale and still as she had never seen it yet.

"You must go straight to bed," said Lady Fountain in an affectionate but aggrieved voice. "You look simply sapped! I

don't think this place really suits you, Miranda."

"I agree," said her niece. "Don't you think that we might move on next week? It would be fun to be in Paris when those

nice American friends of yours are there. I could see Clothilde, too."

"I am quite willing, if you really want to go now." Her aunt glanced sharply at the inscrutable white face, then looked down at the little feet in the dusty red sandals. "Oh, good heavens! Look at your feet, Miranda. Where on earth did you walk to get them into that condition? Were there thorns, or what, at that tiresome shrine of yours?"

"It wasn't a nail, anyway," said Miranda cryptically. She roused herself and sat up, and leaning out of the window glanced back leavetakingly at a little temple set upon a hill,

grey, old, and empty in the sunlight.

M. O'ROURKE.

"THE MONTH" FORWARDING SCHEME

It is with special gratitude that we wish to thank all those who have assisted the Forwarding Scheme during the past year. It has meant, we know very well, a real sacrifice. But never was a gift more appreciated—to judge from the letters we receive. We are asked continually for more and more copies; we should be most grateful for further subscriptions to enable us to send them.

An American missionary in Nanking has recently written: "It is with amazement and hence double gratitude that I see The Month coming to us regularly despite the *Luftwaffe*. Some people don't realize what you have to go through. We do, as we went through a fraction of it ourselves, and during that time didn't think of helping out people in foreign countries. Congratulations on the wonderful ability to 'take it'".

Many missionaries write and say that The Month is the only means they have of knowing the truth about European affairs. Particularly do French missionaries ask for it. Ashamed of their country's betrayal of its allies, they are most anxious to know what is happening to the Church they are so faithfully serving.

To certain countries publications can be sent only directly from the publishers. The Manager of The Month has permission to send them. Whence the added value now of a direct subscription in favour of a missionary.

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ON RE-READING SALLUST

VER the door of some old monastic libraries the inscription could be read: "Pharmacy of the Soul," or words to that effect. As a matter of fact, everyone agrees that books provide a remedy, or at least an anodyne, for many, if not most of the ills to which mankind is a prey. Whether we read "for escape," as the modern phrase has it, or for spiritual profit, the writers of ancient Rome and Greece can always be depended upon to procure mental refreshment for those fortunate enough to have acquired a taste for what is best in literature. Unfortunately this is not now so common as in former days. All too often the works of the immortals are put away for good and all, as soon as they have served the purely utilitarian purpose of enabling a young man-or woman-to pass certain examinations. In these circumstances the maxim that one should study "non scholae, sed vitae," is likely to remain a counsel of perfection.

It may be urged, of course, and it has been urged, by at least one distinguished contemporary, that the writers of Greece and Rome tell us nothing that has not been said equally well by our own poets and thinkers; the classical writers just happened to say it first! There is truth in the plea, as there is an element of truth in every sophism-otherwise no danger would lurk in sophisms. In point of fact one may grant that what the old classics say in Latin and Greek, has been said with eloquence by our own English writers, and all describe alike the passions of the human heart, whilst the rise and fall of empires and nations provide but little variety. History in particular, that éternelle recommenceuse, always runs along the same familiar lines, just as a great stream keeps to its century-old bed. But it is precisely from the fact that past generations underwent, long ago, ordeals, and weathered storms similar to those that now sweep over the world, that the mind draws no small comfort. "Forsitan et haec meminisse juvabit." The social upheavals, wars and victories, and the careers of great men and their adventures of long ago, have a lesson for us to-day and may help us to keep our sense of proportion.

Though Sallust may not be ranked among the greatest classical historians, such as Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy and Tacitus, both his works and his personality are remarkable.

Much of what he wrote has been lost, but his account of Catiline's plot for the overthrow of the Roman State and the story of Rome's war against a Numidian chieftain, Jugurtha, will always be read with pleasure and profit. For the latter work the author's term of office as Praetor of Numidia enabled him to get the necessary local colour, whilst it also provided him with an opportunity for enriching himself. The Romans had some admirable qualities: on the whole they were just and their rule was tolerant of the customs of the peoples they had subjugated; for one thing, they never interfered with these peoples' religious beliefs and practices, unless these were deemed subversive of the State. But these natural virtues were neutralized by greed and avarice, and more than one provincial governor abused his trust in order to enrich himself: Sallust was one of that category.

C. Sallustius Crispus was born in the year 86 B.C., in the Sabine country, that ancient home of a sturdy race long wedded to the soil and possessed of the sterling virtues of a rural people: "Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini" (Georgics II 531). Few details about the historian's life have come down to us, but the little that we know is not particularly to his credit. Thus we know that he was expelled from the Senate on account of adultery, though, God knows, the Romans of that period were not squeamish in such matters. Sallust's crime must have been particularly odious. At a later period, when an inquiry was made into his praetorship, Caesar acquitted him. By this means he was able to enjoy his ill-gotten wealth amid the luxuries of his Villa right up to the time of his death at the

early age of fifty.

Martial assigns to Sallust the first rank as a writer of Rome's history:

Primus Romana Crispus in historia,

and even staid and weighty Tacitus describes him as "rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor" (Annal. 3, 30). History has not quite ratified these over-enthusiastic encomiums. It will be doing Sallust no injury if we refuse to regard all he wrote as a straightforward record of well-authenticated facts. On the contrary, to some extent at least, he is an early fore-runner of the romantic school of historians who flourish in our own day, as, for instance, Emil Ludwig. Such writers project their own personality into their picture, interpret things and events to suit their own purpose, and do not scruple to adjudge history in the light of their own imaginings and preconceptions.

This is not to say that Sallust has not endeavoured to give us a substantially accurate account of a tremendous domestic event in the history of the Roman Republic. He himself informs his reader that the study of history had attracted him from his youth, and ambition alone had diverted him, for a time, from so laudable a pursuit. In point of fact he had a lofty conception of the value of History: "ex aliis negotiis quae ingenio exercentur in primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum" (Jug. 4, 1). Moreover he had a very good conceit of himself as a historian, and this all the more as he felt that there was little glory in achievement if there were no one at hand to "write it up." Take the case of Athens. The Athenians have done well enough, though not really as much as is supposed: "Atheniensium res gestae satis amplae magnificaeque fuere, verum aliquanto minores tamen quam fama feruntur!" But because Athens had the luck to produce some supreme literary geniuses, the great deeds of its people are spoken of throughout the world. Such had not been, up till then, the good fortune of the Roman people, for all Rome's outstanding characters were men of action rather than of words: " optumus quisque facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis bene facta laudari, quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat . . . " (Cat. 9).

When at length Sallust forsook politics for literature, it was by no means from a disinterested love of letters. Disappointment and embitterment show all too nakedly through the excuses which he deems it necessary to make for his withdrawal from public life: "there are sure to be those who will ascribe to indolence my retirement from affairs; but if these people would consider both the time when I held office and the kind of men who subsequently gained entrance into the Senate... they would agree that I changed my mind more from a sense of duty than from a lack of energy, and that my leisure will be more profitable to the State than the activities of these people."

(Jug. 4, 4).

Though he proclaims his intention to relate his tale as accurately as possible: "quam verissume potero... absolvam" (Cat. 4, 4), personal resentment repeatedly pierces through his strictures upon his contemporaries. It has been observed that Sallust is so severe on others, not because his own conduct was without reproach, but because he had not succeeded in escaping the consequences of his misconduct. Be this as it may, his castigations of the prevailing vices and abuses ring hollow enough; his is not the serene, even though

emphatic, protest of a man conscious of a blameless life, nor the sincere, if crudely expressed resentment of, say, a Juvenal who could at least boast that if he lacked a higher inspiration, disgust at any rate prompted his Muse:

Si natura negat, facit indignatio versus (Sat. VIII).

Though he repeatedly complains of the low state of public and private morality, Sallust never rises to any great heights of eloquence in his praise of virtue. On the other hand his descriptions of evil and evil-doers are vivid and obviously based on first-hand knowledge. His portraiture of his "hero," Catiline, could not be bettered. Every word is one more stroke of the brush, the result being a most life-like picture of one of the world's greatest adventurers.

Catiline was a typical product of a period of political upheaval. The Italic War had shaken the social fabric to its foundations. The bloody suppression of the Samnites and other Italian peoples cannot but have exercised a brutalizing effect upon those who witnessed it, or took part in it. Even more disastrous was the struggle between Marius and Sulla, followed by the latter's monstrous abuse of power when, by proscribing his former enemies, or merely those whose property he coveted either for himself or for his partisans, Rome was subjected to an organized blood-letting such as no civilized people had ever experienced before:

Sanguine civili rem conflant divitiasque Conduplicant avidi, caedem caede accumulantes (Lucret. III, 70, 71).

Some seventy-four thousand names are said to have appeared on the fatal lists, including those of forty Senators and sixteen hundred *Equites*, whilst about three million pounds of our money went into the public treasury, though not before Sulla and his favourites had secured vast fortunes for themselves. Sallust dates Rome's decadence from those days, when "men began to ravish, to annex, to covet, one the house, the other the fields of his neighbour." It was then that the Roman soldier first acquired a taste for liquor, developed a liking for pictures and chiselled vessels, stole them openly or secretly, robbed the very temples of the gods, polluted alike what was sacred and profane. Sallust bids his reader view the houses and villas towering to the sky like mountains, and then to contemplate the temples which the Romans of old—those most religious of men—had raised to the honour of their gods; the ornament of

the temples was the piety of the worshippers, their own dwellings they adorned with glory. What their descendants have done must be seen to be believed—they have levelled mountains and enclosed the sea by constructing mighty breakwaters: "subversos montis, maria constructa, quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae" (Cat. 13). They scour the earth and the ocean in the hope of discovering some new dish; in a word, they have become so soft through luxury, as to be incapable of stern effort—"dormire priusquam somni cupido esset, non famem aut sitim, neque frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere." Surely Sallust must have written these lines "with his tongue in his cheek," if I may use the colloquialism, for we know that such was the splendour of his own villa, so spacious were his famous gardens, that they eventually became an imperial residence.

After Sulla's death the relatives of those whom the Dictator had proscribed began to raise their heads once more. On the other hand, those who had been enriched by the tyrant—reckless soldiers for the most part—had not been slow in squandering the wealth that had come to them so easily. These soldiers of fortune, now destitute, only needed a leader to direct their energies towards fresh enterprises. They found

such a leader in Sergius Catilina.

Catiline was by birth an aristocrat. In the course of the Civil War he had distinguished himself both by his recklessness and by his cruelty. Rumour even credited him with the murder of his own brother, a crime for which he is said to have sought impunity by getting his victim's name inscribed on the sinister proscription lists. Sallust definitely accuses him of the rape of a Vestal Virgin and further charges him with the assassination of a grown-up son of his own, with a view to removing an obstacle to a projected union with a certain Aurelia Orestilla, a woman of whom our author says: "cujus praeter formam nihil unquam bonus laudavit." After running through his own resources, Catiline came to the conclusion, like many another desperado before and since, that the easiest means of retrieving his fortune was the overthrow of the men in power. To achieve this purpose he must have followers prepared for any crime. These were easily gathered because, for one thing, profligate and cruel though he was, Catiline was not deficient in certain manly qualities and that natural gift of leadership which induces men to throw in their lot with another, regardless of consequences. Sallust traces a lively portrait of Catiline at this

time: "colos ei exsanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo, modo tardus incessus: prorsus in facie voltuque vecordia inerat." Whatever his vices, Catiline was not lacking in physical courage, or rather in boldness degenerating into effrontery. At the tensest moment of the plot, and when he was well aware that the secret had leaked out, he never lost his nerve, and at the last he died arms in hand and facing his foes: "Catilina longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in voltu retinens" (61).

Such a man could not fail to exercise a magnetic influence over Sulla's veterans, men who but a short while ago had lived luxuriously but were now reduced to misery, as a result of their extravagance. To them were added not a few young men of good social standing, immature youths who might have enjoyed a life of ease and pleasure, but whose taste for adventure led them to prefer the risks of war to the uneventful security of

peace.

It would be a mistake to see in Catiline and his accomplices the predecessors of our modern Communists, though there exists more than one point of resemblance between them. Our Communists of to-day try at least to keep up an appearance of disinterested solicitude for the masses. They protest loudly that they are not at war with society as such—what they attack is the capitalist system. We know the value of these highsounding phrases and what their realization would lead to, were it in the nature of things that they should ever be given effect. Catiline and his satellites, for their part, frankly aimed at the disruption of the existing order for their own personal profit. The speech which our author puts in the mouth of Catiline on the eve of the outbreak of the plot is perfectly frank on that point. To Catiline the spectacle of a handful of effete old men enjoying wealth and power, squandering their resources on pictures, statues, houses and palaces, yet unable, even so, to exhaust their substance ("summa lubidine divitias suas vincere nequeunt") was as infuriating as a red rag to a bull; for whilst those in possession poured out money "in extruendo mari et montibus coaequandis," he and his associates lacked the necessaries of life; whilst these enlarged their palaces by adding wing to wing, they had no real home of their own.

This is not the speech of a social reformer, of a disinterested philanthropist anxious to establish a more equitable public order. This speech shows us Catiline as the leader of a band of desperadoes who have nothing to lose but much to gain from revolution and civil strife.

When we read the history of bygone days we instinctively look for analogies with men and events of our own time. In a sense Catiline has no parallel. Yet certain portentous shapes rise inevitably before the mind's eye, the sinister shadows of men thrown up by social and political conditions not unlike those that gave birth to the Roman conspirator, men who profess to exercise the power which they obtained by violence, not for personal advantage but for the benefit of the people. If deeds mean as much, and even more than words, is it not Hitler's aim to strip his neighbours, and to reduce them to a state little better than that of helots, condemned to slavery for the benefit of their betters, seeing that a "Herrenvolk" like the Germans, have a right to reduce inferior races to such vassalage?

The first move in Catiline's plot was to have been the assassination of the Consul-Cicero. This initial crime was foiled by a woman. "Cherchez la femme!" One of the conspirators, in a boastful hour, had confided the dreadful secret to his mistress who promptly warned Cicero of his danger, but without giving away Catiline himself. Though aware that the Consul had taken precautions for the safety of the city, the conspirator had the effrontery to attend a meeting of the Senate, either for the purpose of exculpating himself, or from sheer bravado. The spectacle of the public enemy occupying his seat of honour in that august assembly, filled the soul of the Consul with righteous indignation, though Sallust is mean enough to suggest that fear may have agitated the supreme magistrate's breast. Cicero now pronounced the first of those orations which will be admired as long as men are able to appreciate supreme eloquence. It is hardly to be thought that the oration, as we know it, is a verbatim extract from the Roman equivalent of Hansard; the speech is too polished to have sprung spontaneously from the indignant breast of the Consul, as Minerva is said to have sprung, armed and helmeted, from the cloven skull of Jove. As a matter of fact Sallust tells us that Cicero afterwards edited and published his discourse. Those dramatic days constitute the climax in Cicero's political career. But Sallust could not forget that the Consul had at one time defended Milo, a man whose domestic happiness had been shamefully troubled by our historian. Sallust's

jaundiced eye could only see an "optimus consul" in one whom the Senate hailed as the saviour of the Republic, and for him an immortal masterpiece is no more than a useful contribution in a public crisis: "orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipublicae" (931). Surely here we have a perfect

instance of a man damning another with faint praise.

There is no need to dwell on the sequel of the story of Catiline, but it is interesting to try to ascertain, from his writings, what may have been the philosophical background of Sallust's life. In this endeavour we are helped by the remarkable moralizing reflections with which our author prefaces his works, more especially his "Catiline." His outlook is not a lofty one. He seems to know no higher aim in life than the pursuit of fame or glory. Precisely because life is so brief and elusive, man's highest endeavour should be to achieve something by which his name may long live in the memory of other men-" memoriam nostram quam maxume longam facere" (1). Such, according to him, was the highest ambition of the old Romans, so greatly admired by him: "gloriae maxumum certamen inter ipsos: se quisque hostem ferire, murum ascendere, conspici dum tale facinus faceret . . ." Our author summarily condemns a large section of humanity because, "dediti ventri atque somno . . . vitam sicuti peregrinantes transiere," whose life and death are of equal worth since nothing is said about either. Rome, indeed, had its idle rich, its Bertie Woosters of the Drones' Club, of whom no record exists, except such as may have been set down in the works, lost to posterity, of some Wodehouse of the period. But the mass of humanity is not, never was and never will be able, or content, to lead such an existence, for it is destined to work and always will remain so, in spite of the glowing pictures of a future paradise on earth, conjured up before the fevered eyes of the proletariat by handsomely remunerated labour "leaders." Fame, at any rate, is too airy a food for the stomach of ordinary mortals, and human life would be a sorry game were there no higher purpose to it.

Sallust refers, indeed, more than once to the "dii immortales," but the reader is left wondering whether the words are more than a literary convention. If we bear in mind that in Sallust, as in other ancient historians, the set speeches are really compositions of the author, we shall best form some conception of his religious ideas by studying those sections of his work. In "Catiline" we find two speeches pronounced in the Senate, the one by Caesar, the other by Cato. The speeches probably

give no more than the gist of what was said by these two worthies, for they are too obviously compositions in the manner of Sallust, hence we may here find some clue to the views, if any, of our author, about the deepest problems of the human mind. In his speech Caesar is made to give expression to the crassest materialism. For the conqueror of Gaul, death is the end not only of all care, but of everything else as well—"in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; ea cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse." It is true that the very next sentence opens with the usual "per deos immortales," but if after death there is neither joy nor grief, man's existence is obviously confined within the boundaries of this present world.

The years which witnessed the events narrated by Sallust were the darkest hour of paganism's long night; they preceded, but only by a short space, the dawn of the new era and the new hope which opened before humanity when its greatest Benefactor came into our world. In those dark hours a great weariness had laid hold of men: they were weary of life itself—there is so little to live for if every window giving upon the

outer world is shuttered and barred!

Cato spoke after Caesar. The speaker was then only about thirty years of age. The whole tone of his speech is scarcely in keeping with his years, hence it seems pretty clear that here also Sallust wrote with great independence from whatever notes he may have had before him; in fact much of the speech is reminiscent of Greek models which it is not likely would have been present to the mind of the speaker. If this surmise is correct, Sallust would here make a profession of faith in a personal immortality for he puts in Cato's mouth words of biting irony about the materialistic view of human destiny, adopted by Caesar: "Bene et composite"—well and cleverly -"C. Caesar in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, credo falsa existumans ea quae de inferis memorantur, diverso itinere malos a bonis loca tetra, inculta, foeda atque formidolosa habere . . ." Our modern after-Christians, not alone Caesar, stand rebuked by pagan Cato's scorn.

Again and again the story of Catiline puts us in mind of men and events of our own time. Catiline sought to overthrow the Roman State, for his own private benefit. At this day we are up in arms against a system and against men whose triumph would be the end of civilization as Christianity has shaped it, in the course of long centuries, At the present hour the struggle still fluctuates, even though we cannot doubt the issue. But when at long last the dust and the smoke will have lifted above the field of battle, and Christian Europe surveys the bloody panorama, she is destined, alas! to experience a repetition, but on an incomparably larger scale, of the scene described so graphically in Sallust's concluding paragraphs. Though the conspiracy was crushed, Rome's victory was neither joyful nor unbloody, for all the bravest men had either perished, or had left the field with grievous wounds. And when men went out to view the scene of carnage, as they turned over the dead, they recognized among the fallen, one a friend, the other a relative or, as the case might be, even an enemy: "ita varie per omnem exercitum laetitia, moeror, luctus atque gaudia agitabantur."

ERNEST GRAF, O.S.B.

PRAYER OF ST. ANSELM

O God, Thou art Life, Wisdom, Truth, Generosity and Blessedness, the Eternal, the one and only true God. My God and My Lord, Thou art my hope and my heart's delight. I acknowledge that Thou hast created me in Thine own image, that I must direct all my thoughts towards Thee, and give Thee my complete love. Lord, enable me to know Thee in the fullest sense, that I may more and more love, and enjoy, and possess Thee. And, since in this life here on earth, I can never fully know Thee, let this knowledge grow in me in the life to come. Here on earth may my knowledge of Thee increase and there, after this life, let it be perfected! Here may my love to Thee grow unceasingly, and there it will be increased! May my joy in Thee and in all that comes from Thee, be increased and strengthened!

SPIRITUALITY AND THE ACTIVE LIFE

II. PRAYER AND WORK

HE spiritual writers of ancient times were inclined to set contemplation and action in opposition. But the life and teaching of St. Ignatius of Loyola have made us familiar with a spirituality that does not set contemplation and action apart, one from the other, but fuses them together into one thing, and rises often to the highest mysticism in the midst of, and by the means of, intense external activity. It is not, of course, that this was never practised or understood before; St. Gregory was called "contemplative in activity." St. Ignatius was chosen by God to make this ideal stand forth clearly and boldly and be practised in all its fullness. "This way of life is new," wrote the Jesuit Fr. Gagliardi in the early days of the Society of Jesus, "difficult to understand and difficult to practise."1

If you had been in Rome in the middle of the sixteenth century you would have met in the street "the little man with the hobbling step, the kindly, grave and peaceful countenance, the penetrating but modestly guarded eyes, the large thinker's forehead."2 In your intercourse with him you would have discovered in his character "a zeal always meditating enterprises for the glory of God, an unalterable sweetness and gentleness, ennobled by a largeness of heart superior to all trials or successes, the noble and delicate urbanity of the Spanish chivalry of the day, enlightened by the supernatural

illumination of heavenly wisdom."3

As to his inner life of prayer, we are fortunate to have the accounts of his intimate companions in the Society of Jesus, and also some revelations made by himself: a narrative of his early life which he gave to Fr. Gonçalves da Camara,4 and a portion of a private notebook compiled at Rome while he was drawing up the Constitutions of his new Order.5 Here we find a lofty mysticism, of an intensity and permanence rare in the world's

¹ De Plena Cognitione Instituti, S.J., ed. Namur, 1841, proemium.

Dudon, Vie de S. Ignace, ch. 25.
 Astrain-Hull, Life of St. Ignatius, pp. 113-5.
 "Acta Patris Ignatii," in Monumenta Ignatiana, series IV, vol. I, pp. 1-98.
 Mon. Ignat., series III, vol. I, pp. xcv-cxx and 86-158.

history, and characterized by traits all his own. Some of these are as follows:

(a) There is a frequent vision of the Blessed Trinity, in which he often distinguished the Persons; at Rome on February 19th, he was "flooded in great abundance by tears, sobs, and most intense love, all for love of the most holy Trinity"; its image remained with him in growing clearness from the nineteenth to the fortieth day of his journal. Yet unlike the case of other mystics, this elevated intuition brings with it no suspension of bodily powers and no absorption of mind; he remains master of his actions and aware of the world around him. Indeed, what seems most remarkable, he admitted himself that he was able to call upon or suspend the state of union with God at will, as his everyday occupations required.

(b) There is no trace of nuptial imagery and the longing for immediate union with God. His attitude is rather that of a friend, a courtier, a servant before his Lord, eager to do Him honour and carry out His will. There is always the highest respect for the divine majesty, and the sense of the abyss of distance between God and man makes him frequently have recourse to mediators. On February 8th, he resolved to adopt strict poverty in his Order, and presented his resolution for approval, by our Lady to her Son, and by Jesus in His humanity to the heavenly Father. Thereupon "I felt myself brought into the presence of the Father. My hairs rose on my head, and I felt a shaking and a remarkable warmth in my body; then came tears and an intense devotion."

(c) Communion with God aims not so much at rapt and delightful contemplation, but rather at receiving guidance in daily life and conduct; and so the powers of reasoning are not suspended, but stimulated by the spiritual experience. "I seemed to see or feel the Holy Spirit with vivid clearness and under the unaccustomed form of a flame, and felt myself confirmed in my decision. Then reflecting on the choice and considering the reasons which I had put in writing, I prayed our Lady, then the Son, and lastly the Father, to give me the Holy Spirit to reflect and examine the choice in His light, and feeling in myself the effects of a manifest assistance, I sat down and with felt devotion and considerable clearness of mind I

¹ For what follows I am indebted to Père de Guibert, in "Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique," April-June 1938.

² Mon. Ignat., loc. cit., Feb. 19th. ³ Cf. Dudon; also Mon. Ignat., series IV, vol. I, p. 355 and vol. II, p. 561.

⁴ Mon. Ignat., loc. cit. Feb. 8th.

began to examine it. . . . But all other reasons disappeared from my mind before the thought that the Son sent the Apostles

to preach in poverty."1

(d) As is natural in one who is being prepared to act and to teach, the imagination, bodily sensations and faculties are not suspended but developed. On February 18th, he felt "a devotion warm and as it were red." At Manresa in 1522 "his intelligence began to be enlightened and it was as if he saw the Holy Trinity under the form of three organ keys [Does this mean three notes forming an harmonious chord? At this sight he began to weep and sob, and could not master himself. . . . That evening he could talk of nothing but the Holy Trinity, no matter how he tried; he did so, using a great number of different comparisons, his soul filled with joyful consolation."2 He valued as a grace and carefully recorded the tears that his experiences caused him; they came as often as six or seven times a day; in fact, they hindered him from getting through the Breviary, so that he had to be dispensed from it. There were times when he was weakened, and had to be carried back to his room after saying Mass, or when assistance at Mass caused him to lose three-quarters of his ordinary strength.3 However, he was never unable to do the work his position as head of the Order imposed on him.

(e) Lastly this union with God was experienced not only in seclusion but while going about his work. "While going to Don Francis, in his company, and afterwards while returning; the warmth and intense love did not cease to be felt. . . . Going along the street, keeping Jesus before my eyes, I felt a renewal of devotion and tears. After my talk with Carpi I felt much devotion; and after dinner, especially at the moment when I passed through the Vicar's door to go to the house of Trana, I felt or saw Jesus. . . . Outside the house and at church before Mass, intellectual vision of the heavenly country and of the Lord of Heaven. . . . "4 He was able to perceive God in all earthly beings: if he entered a church at the time of high Mass or Vespers, the music raised him to God.⁵ Fr. Manare says: "I saw him very often walking in the garden, stopping and looking absorbedly at the sky."6 The flowers

Mon. Ignat., loc. cit., Feb. 11th.
 Ibid., Acta P. Ignatii, No. 28.
 Ibid., Series IV, vol. II, pp. 389-90, 552.
 Ibid., Series III, vol. I, pp. 86-158, Feb. 12th, Feb. 24th, Feb. 29th.
 Ibid., Series IV, vol. I, p. 242.
 Ibid., Series IV, vol. I, p. 523.

raised his mind to God. and a meeting with one of his fellow-Jesuits in the corridor caused him to laugh aloud at the thought that this was a soul redeemed by the blood of Jesus.2 He counselled the same practice to St. Francis Borgia: "Try to keep your soul in peace and quiet, always ready for the operations that the Lord desires to work in it, in the midst of your business. Without any doubt, there is more virtue and more grace in enjoying the Lord in various occupations and various places

than in one only," that is, in the oratory.3

We have here a mystical life very different from the secluded contemplation of most earlier saints, with their suppression of all sensations, images, distinct thoughts and resolves. It is a mysticism of action, resulting in what may be called an infused apostolate, an apostolate guided and impelled by the infused gifts of the Spirit. St. Teresa, a woman of the same era, and also greatly occupied with external activity, experienced something of the same thing. "It happens occasionally, frequently even," she wrote to a spiritual guide, "that the soul perceives quite clearly, or at least it seems to do so, that the will alone is united to God, and this faculty is occupied with Him alone while the other two faculties, the understanding and the memory, remain free for business and the works of God's service. In a word Martha and Mary go side by side. Extremely surprised to experience this, I asked Fr. Francis Borgia if it was not an illusion. He answered that it was not, and that the same thing often happened to himself."4 A similar mysticism is found among many Jesuits and others in later times, and Fr. Lallemant declares that mystical graces, far from conflicting with external labour, are very important to purify it; " with the grace of contemplation," he says, "it is possible to do more in one month both for oneself and for others, than one could do in ten years without it."5

Much light is thrown on the whole situation by Mgr. Saudreau, who has made the useful division of mystics into the cherubic, seraphic and angelic type. In those of the cherubic type the intellect is chiefly concerned, in the second the affections, in the third the faculties connected with executive ability and the external world. St. Ignatius is put by him in the second class, though he comes more naturally in the third.

¹ Mon. Ignat., Series IV, vol. II, p. 561. ² Ibid., Series IV, vol. I, p. 353.

Ibid., Series I, vol. II, p. 234.
 Letters, vol. I, p. 380, letter to Fr. Rodriguez Alvarez.
 Quoted in Lejeune, Introduction to Mysticism, ch. I.

Unlike Ruysbroeck, unlike St. Francis of Assisi, and with St. Paul and St. Gregory, he is a mystic of practical activity.¹

The intellectual type of mysticism often expresses itself systematically and in writing, and so it has come to receive more than its fair share of attention. The classical theory of religious life found in St. Thomas is influenced by it, as is the general preference for the strictly speculative type of spirituality among older writers. But since the time of St. Ignatius (who, if Mgr. Saudreau's terminology be adopted, deserves in this respect the title of the angelic, while St. Thomas is the cherubic doctor) other types have come into their own. There is no longer any reason to prefer contemplation to action, or to think that the mystical life and the apostolate are irreconcilable.

The union of prayer with activity is found not only in the mystical life of St. Ignatius, but also in his instructions to his followers. He did not expect them all to live on his own mystical level. But there is a certain parallelism between the extraordinary and the ordinary spiritual life, which makes the lessons of the one valuable for the other.

He taught his disciples that prayer should pass immediately into action. The aim of his Spiritual Exercises is to render men ready instruments of God's will, attentive to His inspirations, and constant in His service; and by prayer one discovers the manner of life and action that God desires. The accent is not on union with a Friend, and holy converse with Him; it is on loving service of the divine majesty, and upon sharing in the labours of Christ. It is "Speak, Lord, for Thy servant hearest," and "What wilt Thou have me to do?" Prayer itself of course may be the service required, or the patient inactivity of the sick and the incompetent; but all is envisaged primarily as a service.

On the other hand the service itself must be a prayer; it must be done with one's eyes on God, for Him and under His guidance, so that in it we honour Him and draw closer to Him. The choice of a manner of life in the Exercises is conducted as follows: I put off my personal interests, and "beg God our Lord that He may be pleased to move my will, and place in my soul that which I ought to do." I have my eyes on God and on His interests while choosing, so that when I decide in favour of a person or a thing, "God may shine in the cause for which I love

¹ Mr. Sedgwick, a non-Catholic, in the introduction to his Life of St. Ignatius (London, 1924) considers that his character is summed up in the union of mysticism with action. In this, he says, he is like Cromwell. Certainly, comparisons can be odious.

² Spir. Exc., 2nd week, 1st mode of Election, 3rd point.

them." I must be careful that "the love which urges and causes me to choose such or such a thing descend from on high from the love of God."2 What is this but to contemplate and adhere to God while choosing, and to praise Him, if not in words, at any rate in actions which speak as loudly?

St. Ignatius understands that created beings can draw us away from God, as the older writers teach. But he does not consider that this must happen, and as activity is concerned with the things of this world, he explains in detail how to make them a passage to God, and not a hindrance to reaching Him. His followers must train themselves to "seek God in all things . . . loving Him in all creatures and them only in Him, according to His most holy and divine will."3 " Each must recognize the Lord in the other as His image."4 "You should not see in the person of the Superior a man liable to errors and miseries, but Christ Himself."5 The concluding contemplation of the Spiritual Exercises is a magnificent effort to see the world not as a barrier keeping us from God, but as a meeting-place with Him, its goods a revelation of His love for us and a means of showing our love in return.

There is something here highly original. In St. Augustine, in the Imitation of Christ, the emphasis is all the other way. But St. Ignatius recommends the drastic practice of our Lord's counsel: "Make friends, for yourselves by the mammon of wickedness."6 In his early days he himself had gone to an extreme in the shunning of creatures; he did not venture to beg a supply of biscuit for a journey to Italy without first consulting a confessor, and when some money was given to him as alms he left it on a bench by the shore.7 But in later life he told Ribadeneira, one of his companions, that God had afterwards instructed him to use all natural means at hand to further His service, with as much care as though the result depended on them.⁸ There is here nothing less than an inspiration of God instructing His Church how to behave in the coming age of humanism and of external enterprise.

When he began to put this idea into practice in the Society of

¹ Spir. Exc., Rules for Distribution of Alms, 1st Rule.
² Ibid., 2nd week, 2nd Mode of Election, 1st Rule.
³ Constit. S. J., part III, ch. I, No. 26.

⁴ Ibid S.J., part III, ch. I, No. 4. ⁵ Epistle on the Virtue of Obedience, No. 16.

⁶ St. Luke, xvi, 10 (Westminster Version).

Mon. Ignat., Series IV, vol. I, Acta P. Ignatii, No. 35.
 Ibid., Series IV, vol. I, pp. 391, cf. Rib., de ratione S.J. in gubernando, ch. 6.

Jesus, the surprise was great. He reduced the time given by all other Orders to the Divine Office, to Mass, Sacraments and devotions, and turned the energies of his followers to study and labour. Greatly as he esteemed these things and recommended them to others, he wished his Jesuit companions to make their work their prayer. On one form of spiritual exercise he laid great stress: the two daily examinations of conscience, in which with God's aid one surveys and plans the day's conduct and purifies one's intentions.

There was at that time a general tendency to go into retirement for contemplation, as the Franciscan Recollects for instance were doing. In highly religious and cultured Spain a number of Jesuits, who had tasted the worth of retired prayer while making the Spiritual Exercises at the beginning of their religious life (in those days the Exercises were not repeated) wished to withdraw into solitude for a month every year. Fr. Nadal pleaded their cause with St. Ignatius, but tells us that he "replied with so stern a countenance and words and with such severity that I was stupefied at it"; he ended the interview by affirming: "For a truly mortified man a quarter of an hour suffices to unite oneself to God in prayer"; and from that time he made less use of Fr. Nadal's assistance.2

When Superiors wrote to ask whether the young students of the Society should not give a fixed time to mental prayer he rejoined: "Let our students practise finding God's presence in all things, in conversation and in walks, in what they see, taste, hear, and in all they do. . . . This is an excellent practice which prepares for great visitations of the Lord even in a short period of prayer. Again, one can be diligent in offering frequently to our Lord one's studies and labours, considering that one accepts them out of love, neglecting one's own personal tastes, in order to serve His Majesty in something and to help those for whom He died. One could make the examen turn on such exercises."3

We see in these requests that the perfect practice of the founder was beyond the power of his followers, and we find the Society of Jesus later modifying these regulations, in accordance with his own principle that rules ought to be adapted to circumstances by the competent superiors. It was not long before it became the custom everywhere to give a whole hour every day to mental prayer; and since then the amount of delimited

¹ Mon. Ignat., Series I, vol. III, pp. 376, 509. ² *Ibid.*, Series I, vol. I, pp. 250-51, 278. ³ *Ibid.*, Series I, vol. III, pp. 507-10.

formal prayer in a Jesuit's life has been frequently increased.1 Nevertheless it remains characteristic of the Society of Jesus that, in the words of Suarez, "in procuring the perfection of its own members, it intends the whole of that perfection and the means by which it is acquired including prayer . . . to

serve in advancing the perfection of the neighbour."2

Experience shows that prayer need not suffer from activity. that indeed it is often promoted by it. The contemplative life exposes one to the danger of living for oneself, and of not extirpating one's vices, as, having no occasion of exercise, they may lie dormant and unperceived. But those who have tried the active life know how one is turned from self to God by distributing the sacraments, preaching and catechizing, and directing souls; one is forced to think of God when leading others to Him, and it is a perpetual reproach to perceive the gap between one's own practice and one's exhortations to others. Self-conquest and self-abnegation, the most essential of all preparations for prayer, are exercised by having to give up one's repose, personal tastes and security, and become "a man devoured," in Père Chevrier's phrase. The feeling of inadequacy to produce spiritual results by his human efforts incites the apostolic labourer to call upon God for help, and to thank Him when it is given. Finally, the courage and persistency required to face unpleasant work can often be found only by turning to the Master walking at one's side, or by praying that the Holy Spirit may come into one's heart; the apostle on his rounds is no more alone than the contemplative at his place of prayer.

Fr. Gagliardi, a theologian and philosopher of the sixteenth century, argued that the active life is better fitted to raise the soul "to the closest union and familiarity with God, to the summit of the unitive way "3 than the contemplative. He based his argument on the affirmation that activity gives charity its fullest perfection, and so "prepares more sublimely, fitly and speedily for mystical theology, and for the reception of divine

influences on the will, and God's working in it."4

The proof that active charity is the more perfect is not difficult. "As God out of love goes forth and operates externally, communicating Himself to all creatures and procuring their welfare," so that highest charity is not reposeful, but

4 loc. cit., par. V.

¹ Cf. Arregui, Annotationes in Epitomen, Rome 1934, No. 182.

² De Religione Soc. Jesu, Bk. I, ch. II, No. 26. ³ De Plena Cognitione Instituti, ed. Namur 1841, part II, sect. III, par. I.

"active and operative, going forth to procure the help and salvation of all men . . . [Charity] is more properly and powerfully and speedily generated and nourished and increased by activity than by the other means of solitude, retreat, and long contemplation . . . so that there is a circle, love for God causing love for the neighbour to grow more ardent, and similarly love for the neighbour increasing the love of God." "This occurs at least in those called by their Institute to such a life, though for others it may not be so. For such men even their distractions are made holy, for they are not voluntary but inevitable, and attached to the activity which God has appointed as their way of union with Him"; and so "they ought not to be frightened or turned away from activity as if it were less apt for attaining union and a distraction, even when they are obliged at a time of greater devotion, as in Holy Week, to hear confessions and evil things; for when these activities are practised according to the Institute (for then they are done laudably and through sublime charity), they very efficaciously bring men to God Who is as it were present and hidden in those dark occupations."1

It is perhaps better not to defend the superiority of one way of life or the other; each has its dangers and advantages, and the fruit of each will depend on dispositions and circumstances.

One may put both on a level.

We can best go to the roots of the matter, and sum up this article and its predecessor, by answering three objections made against the active life.² It is said that this life is detrimental to the intellectual contemplation of God, or to the pure love of Him, or to the recognition of His supremacy and all-sufficiency.

But the truth is the opposite.

Contemplation is called out and augmented by activity. Though the will is not the intellect, the exercise of either involves the exercise of the other. To contemplate God, to fill one's mind with His thoughts, and admire and praise Him, is action, vigorous action. Similarly, there is thought of Him at the heart of every deed in His service. All action is guided by an idea, as the soul strives to make real the object it has conceived, or to remove the obstacles that keep it from the goal perceived. Its aim is to bring the mind to its full satisfaction, as it gazes upon reality in its perfection. To serve God then is to make of oneself and the world a transparency through which God's glory shines, as the cloud melts in the brilliance of the

¹ loc. cit., par. I, II, VI. ² In what follows I have been helped by Fr. Erich Przywara S.J., in his "Deus Semper Major" (Freiburg, 1938), vol. I, pp. 89–100. sun. The more good one does, the more active one is, the more God's being and activity appear to sight, and are honoured and glorified by oneself and by others; the features of Father, Son and Spirit develop in the children of God; the splendour of Christ shines in His bride, the Church, as its members are transformed from glory to glory into the image of the Lord.

The world becomes the city whose lamp is the Lamb.

Should one fear that concern for others and for the world's welfare will injure one's pure attachment to God? We know of course that we cannot serve both God and mammon; but we know also that without loving our neighbour whom we see, we cannot love God whom we do not see. We ourselves are creatures and not divine; so is our love of God, so are our protestations of that love; if we are to honour and love God then, we cannot neglect creatures. We serve Him by means of creatures, and the more we promote the good of created being, the more we have to offer God. We adhere to God not by neglecting ourselves and the world, but by making ourselves His children and so entering the number of those who are brethren of His Son. As a result, the more we approach God, the wider are the new relations, duties and interests that open out before us; to receive the light of redemption into our souls is to be made lamps shining on a lampstand and to be urged by love to give our souls for the brethren. We must only be cautious that in all this we follow God's prompting and not our own will, seek His ends, and humbly follow His unsearchable ways, so that He may really be all in all.

It may seem to some that to make plans and to put forth our human efforts in advancing God's work, is to be wanting in the humility befitting a creature, and in trust in God's power. They may fear that this frame of mind will impede the reception of God's graces, especially of those higher graces which we call passive. The answer to this difficulty is of the greatest importance. To be God's fellow-labourer is not to seek independence of God; it is to submit to Him not only oneself but one's activity. It is not the person who sits idle that shows submission but the person who springs to his feet at the word of command. There is a kind of pride in being a secondary cause of events, associated with the Creator in His activity, with God the Sanctifier in that more marvellous activity by which He infuses His interior life into souls, with the Redeemer in the incorporation of men in Christ; but it is a pride not inconsistent with humility, the pride of the Magnificat. The true apostle

entrusts himself to the leading of the Master as servant and handmaid and child, allowing the Spirit to move him whither it will, and when he is asked to share in something of the failure of the Cross, he accepts his own unprofitableness also, knowing that by this, more than anything else God's work is rendered fruitful. But there will be no obedience without activity and no crosses without exertions.

It is the paradoxical fact that one may be more united to God when one turns away to do His work than when one kneels before Him in praise and reverence. Praise and reverence contain still a degree of free initiative on the part of him who gives them. But in service we allow the Lord to initiate and determine all. Service is not doing a thing because we ourselves approve of that thing, for then we should still be our own masters; it rests upon the word of command. Service is not to consider the objective goodness of things and to cleave to them or reject them; it is to be constantly on one's toes, not adhering to any object, but only to the Lord. The very service itself must be submitted to His will, and He must decide from whom I am to take my orders, whether I may be close to Him or must remain afar, and whether I may be active at all.

In view of all this it seems right to conclude that the active life can lead to, and be, true prayer, love and closest union.

B. O'BRIEN.

Fortitude, the gift of the Holy Spirit, is the quality by the help of which we face dangers and difficulties with the clear vision of the commands and the will of God before our eyes. We need it that we may see beyond the cares and tasks of the moment, that we may remain steadfast amid temptations which pull us so violently away from the love of God, that we may fix our gaze and intention upon that far-distant goal for which we have been created, upon that glorious destiny which God has reserved for those who live and die in His love and faithful service.

THE CASE OF POLAND

[Editorial Note: This article is contributed by a distinguished Pole, now resident and working in this country. For several reasons, which it is not difficult to appreciate, he prefers to remain anonymous.]

HIRTY years ago a Polish geographer wrote a charming essay on Poland as a geographical entity. In it he developed the thesis that Poland was essentially a land of transition. He claimed that Nature herself had imprinted that character on the land whose central feature was a great depression known as the Region of the Great Valleys running from East to West along what might be called the axis of the European Continent. Through this depression, in the Glacial Period a mighty river had flowed, swelled by the waters from the great glaciers stretching to Scandinavia. It followed roughly what are to-day the valleys of the Prypeć, the Bug, the middle Vistula, the Warta, and after having passed through the region of marshlands and lakes of Brandenburg reached the sea through the present estuary of the Elbe. It was the true mother of the later rivers which in the course of millenniums opened for themselves issues in a northerly direction to the Baltic.

But one need not have recourse to these reminiscences to draw the same conclusion. In present day terms Poland is precisely the region where the European Continent begins to widen out into the Eurasiatic plain, where the fluvial systems become intermingled, and where the first road not obstructed by mountains opens across the continent from the Baltic to the Black Sea. This geographical situation and the character of the country told strongly on the psychology of the inhabitants and on their destinies in history. To the superficial observer Poland is a monotonous plain. In reality it has a peculiar charm because everywhere there is outlook and expectation in the scenery itself. The character of the landscape steadily changes as one approaches the vast forests of the North, or the plateaus rolling towards the Black Sea. The Carpathians invite the imagination to ramble along chain after chain of mountains to their last spurs overlooking the distant Mediterranean, and the beautifully cultivated lands on the left bank of

the Vistula for their part speak of the high achievements of civilization in Western countries. The spirit of the people may not be lacking in faults but it is certainly exceedingly flexible and unconquerable at the same time. Poland has adopted important elements of civilization from other countries: Christianity was brought to her from Bohemia, elements of law and the style of city-building from Germany in the Middle Ages, the fine arts and Latin letters from Italy during the Renaissance, the national costume and methods of warfare from the East, in modern times intellectual refinements and the language of courteous intercourse from France. But open as she was on all sides to foreign influences, Poland developed an extraordinary originality in her way of life and assimilated, for her part, vast racial groups which she had admitted to participate in her luxuriant political life.

Her history, meanwhile, was also entirely conditioned by her geographical situation. Spanning the stretch of plain between the Bohemian mountains and the Baltic, she was the first Slavonic nation which succeeded in arresting the ruthless advance eastward of the German conquerors who, in the course of several centuries, annihilated the Western Slavonic tribes, whose homestead was the country from the Saale and Elbe to the Oder. Nearly five hundred years of Polish history were mainly occupied with this relentless struggle. On the whole Poland was victorious and maintained her position. On two points only did the Germans drive two powerful wedges into her territories, and these German conquests were in time to furnish the means of her destruction. One largely broke the continuity of Polish and Czech settlement, and that was Silesia. The other wedge temporarily deprived her altogether of her sea-coast, and finally left an ever threatening hostile bastion on her northern flank: what we have in mind is Prussia.

Poland's eastern frontiers during this period had been far from stable and secure, but they were not subject to any major and threatening pressure. Poland was protected on this side by the vastness of the region itself and by the weakness of her neighbours. The great invasion of the Mongols, which swept through Polish lands only to spend itself on her western confines, shattered the South-Russian principalities which had grown up under the ascendancy of Byzantium, and in the North no important political power had as yet developed. In the xivth century an ambitious and able dynasty, the Grand

Dukes of Lithuania, succeeded in a few generations in subjecting a vast expanse of country to their rule so that their lands ended in enveloping Poland almost completely on her eastern border. Relations were not always neighbourly, Poland was often a victim of razzias on the part of this primitive tribe still addicted to its pagan creed. But no major clash between the two countries occurred, and the decisive fact in their destiny, significantly enough, was brought about by an impulse from an

entirely different quarter.

Prussia had been conquered and remained in the hands of German Crusaders, the Teutonic Order, at one time called to his aid against his troublesome, pagan neighbours by a weak Polish prince. Having conquered and ruthlessly exterminated the Prussians, they became neighbours of Lithuania. Able administrators, strongly organized and periodically reinforced, according to the old fashion of the Crusades, by volunteers from many lands desirous of fighting the infidels, they became a mortal threat to the Lithuanians in spite of their far flung possessions. For Poland they had always been most burdensome neighbours. The common peril brought about a true masterpiece of constructive statesmanship. The two countries united by the marriage of their sovereigns, and the dynastic link was to become in the course of the following centuries a federation more and more intimate and complete. baptism of Lithuania cut the ground under the feet of the belated Crusaders, and the united forces of the two countries they had so long threatened and oppressed, inflicted on them a shattering defeat at Tannenberg. Poland now entered on her heyday recorded in history as the Golden Age. The position which was to be hers she took up in full and in all senses. After having given her eastern neighbours protection against their enemies in the West, she now had to undertake the defence of the West against the East which had become the more threatening of the two. The primitive absolutism prevailing in the Lithuanian lands step by step relaxed under the influence of the uncompromising spirit of freedom which inspired the public life of Poland, until in 1569 the last of the Jagellon dynasty granted full franchise to the vast lands he controlled as Grand Duke of Lithuania. What nowadays is termed parliamentary government, complete freedom of speech, print and religious worship was extended beyond the Dnieper and the Dwina, forming a striking contrast to the conditions prevailing further East where the Grand Duchy of Moscow at this time

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menacingly loomed in sight. The Catholic Church everywhere partook in these peaceful conquests. Richly endowed bishoprics were erected, innumerable monastic orders established, and the graceful silhouettes of baroque churches mark even to-day the milestones of the eastward spread of Polish ascendancy. In an atmosphere of toleration almost unique in Europe at the time, the Reformation passed over Poland and faded away under the powerful impulse of the Catholic counter-offensive, which abolished many abuses and brought about a new blossoming of religious life. The monuments it left behind it included, among others, the great Jesuit Colleges of Cracow and Wilno, these ancient capitals of the two federated countries, and Polock which was a true outpost in the North East. In 1596 a Church Union was agreed upon at Brest in Lithuania which brought under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Holy See a considerable part of the Greek Church, and its many adherents in the eastern provinces of Poland. Meanwhile Poland was also, in a political and military sense, standing its ground in the East with marked success against the rising power of Moscow. A series of brilliant victories was won and a number of strategically important positions secured. A certain balance of power seemed to be established in Eastern Europe, and the frontiers of Poland were the limits of Latin and Christian civilization.

But at the beginning of the xviith century a new element came upon the scene. Since the fall of Famagusta and the collapse of the Venetian empire in the Near East, Turkey commanded new possibilities and developed new ambitions. She proposed to extend her conquests in the North and came into conflict with Poland. Simultaneously she appeared to marshal the reserves of barbarism dormant in the vast wilds which bordered the shores of the Black Sea and stretched limitless into the depths of Asia. A struggle of a century ensued in which Poland won her title of rampart of Christendom but in which she lost so much blood, that she emerged from it a nation exhausted physically, and morally stale and unequal to the tasks which confronted her. She had begun by flinging back the new invaders, and gaining some of her greatest triumphs in the military field. But in the middle of the century, when a revolt of the Cossacks, at that time military colonists on her furthest marches, broke out, immediately supported by a devastating incursion of Tartars and followed by a rising of the refractory peasantry of the southern borderland,

all her neighbours appear to have thought this was their chance and that she was an easy prey. The Swedes still fresh from their successes in the Thirty Years War invaded her in the North, the Russians in the East, the Elector of Brandenburg eagerly seized his opportunity, even the prince of Transylvania overran some southern districts. By an extraordinary effort the nation overcame that mortal peril with relatively small territorial losses. In the latter part of the century it was again at war with Turks and Tartars, and under the leadership of a great general rewarded with the royal crown, Sobieski, it dealt to the Ottoman power a decisive blow under the walls of Vienna, but the long drawn out campaign which followed, in Hungary and Moldavia, exhausted its courage and its resources. It happened that at a moment when two despotic monarchies began their ambitious careers simultaneously on both sides of Poland, she found herself in a position of almost hopeless inferiority. And her neighbours took good care, employing the most drastic methods, to maintain her in that position. It is often overlooked even by friends of Poland that she ended in being torn to pieces not only in spite of the salutary and partly admirable reforms crowned by the Constitution of May 3rd, 1791, which a new generation elaborated against the most grievous odds, but because of those reforms, her rapacious enemies fearing that she might in the end slip out of their grasp. The most cynical documents are extant which prove that beyond the possibility of doubt.

But with that we are not here concerned. What we wish to point out after this most hasty survey of the general lines of Polish history is that what brought about the partitions of Poland and came into greater prominence after they had been accomplished, was a grouping of the continental powers which has remained almost continuously operative ever since, and at the present time again plays a most important part in shaping the political situation. The partitions of Poland were not possible, and in fact were delayed, as long as there was not an intimate understanding between Russia and the Germanic monarchies. In the following years their co-operation was nearly uninterrupted, especially if we set aside appearances, until they brought about, whether for good or for evil, the end of French hegemony on the continent of Europe. After the collapse of the French empire they established, in intimate collaboration, a new heyday of despotism in Europe. Russia was then at the zenith of her power and Prussia was a sort of

spear-head which prolonged her dominions as far as the heart of Europe. Of course such a system presupposed the non-existence of Poland. Any manifestations of her vitality paralysed it. French historians have not hesitated to acknowledge that the ill-fated Polish rising of 1830 saved the July revolution by preventing Russian intervention from taking place. Russia could not have fought the Crimean war had she not been certain of Prussia's friendship. The reverses suffered by her in the Crimea and the ensuing death of Nicolas I considerably impaired Russian prestige and soon the former relation was reversed. The driving and dominant force was no longer Russia but Prussia; Russia became Prussia's protection in the rear.

And now Prussia, personified in Bismarck, was aware that Poland could be allowed to acquire no reality if the system was to work smoothly. Alexander II's timid concessions to Poland were viewed by Bismarck with the greatest distrust. An armed rising having broken out in 1863, he immediately concluded a military convention to help Russia out of her trouble. In return he could bring about and conduct his three consecutive wars and proclaim a German Empire assured of Russian good will. Later an eclipse followed in the friendly relations. As long as Bismarck was in power he was careful to attain his ends without allowing things to get out of hand and bringing about a definitive break with a friendly Russia. His successors were less prudent, and after a quarter of a century of unstable relations war broke out between Germany and Russia. And it was not by accident that the Polish question immediately made its appearance in European politics and that Poland ended in being restored.

Learning from misfortune the Weimar Republic returned to the policy of Bismarck and concluded with Russia in spite of its being a Bolshevik Russia, the Treaty of Rapallo. And seventeen years later Adolf Hitler renewed the connexion. And again it was no mere accident that the first result of the new Germano-Russian collaboration was the double aggression against, and the partition of, Poland. But this time German ambitions went

far beyond that limited goal.

The character of Germany's relations with Russia bear a new aspect in accordance with the general change of conditions and technique. Germany neither desires nor expects military help from Russia on the lines habitual in former generations. Her aim doubtless is to gain control of Russia's illimitable

resources, but not necessarily by military occupation; peaceful penetration would entirely satisfy her needs. The form of this control is indifferent, and it is only the result that matters. Besides Hitler is a past master in timing his undertakings and suddenly changing his tone from flattery to threats when he sees fit. And here arises the greatest menace which is common to Poland, to Western Europe and the world. If this German plan were to be successful, if her military power was backed by the cereals of the Ukraine, the minerals of the Ural, the cotton of Turkestan, the oil of the Caucasus and the timber of northern Russia, under a plan of general re-organization carried out by German specialists and officials, then indeed her strength would be unchallenged. That is why it is not only a Polish aspiration to prevent this from happening, but it is a vital necessity for the future safety of the world. That is why it must be one of the most pressing war aims of the free nations of the present time to see that Poland once more becomes, as it has been in former centuries, the janitor of western civilization on her eastern borders.

In sketching the above outline of Poland's history, we have tried to point out how this was the dominating feature of her geographical situation, of her development through the ages, the sense of her tradition, the object of her aspirations, and that perhaps she had shown in the past certain characteristics which might render her not unworthy of this important trust.

New times claim new methods and means. Poland by herself is certainly no match for the might of Germany and Russia allied against her, as she was not capable of coping single handed in the past with the strength of Germany arrayed under the banners of the Teutonic order. At that time she found her way to safety, and emerged victorious from her peril after having effected by peaceful means the greatest and most successful act of Federal Union accomplished up to date on the continent of Europe. To-day she is looking for cooperation and support in the first place to another Slavonic race whose struggle against Teutonic domination is as ancient and as unabating as her own. Poland and Czechoslovakia when united will be capable of dealing with Germany once more conquered, on terms not as unequal as those of the past. but their co-operation is not the ultimate goal. The whole of South Eastern Europe is imperilled by the German spate of conquest as recent events have so tragically shown.

It is to be hoped that Hungary, at present cowed by the

German might, may in the end under new conditions retrieve some of her ancient spirit of liberty, and Yugoslavia is certain, after her present disaster, to seek for some lasting alliance and support. After a British victory Rumania will scarcely remain deaf to the voice of reason. Such a political plan for Eastern Europe does not exhaust the programme for the re-construction of Europe after the war, and efficient measures must be taken in order to prevent Germany from once again flinging the world into chaos. These means and measures are outside the scope of this article, but as someone has rightly said, "Peace this time must not be the ideal peace but the real one." It may be crowned by international acts, but it must be based on the real strength, the real capacity, the real interests and the vital instincts of nations to safeguard a new order worthy of that name, and in harmony with the ideals and traditions of Christendom.

FLAVIUS.

To dogmatize on the character of a nation is not an easy task, and on the part of a foreigner is apt to be temerarious: but those two characteristics of the Polish people of which we have already spoken are obvious: their patriotism and their extraordinary vitality. It is in strict accordance with Polish psychology that the richest epoch of Poland's literature which gave the nation her greatest poets, dawned in all its splendour during the terrible national oppression following the Rising of 1830, and that the noblest poetry that the Polish nation has produced is given over to impassioned accents of patriotism. At the same time it should be noticed that whatever the depths of its tragedy, this poetry illustrates not only the patriotism of the Polish people, at once inspiring, and inspired by their poets, but equally their unconquerable faith in the future of their nation. If pessimism is at times to be found in the works of the Polish Romantic poets, this is the exception. Their prominent characteristic is hope in the resurrection of a nation which they regard with a passionate veneration which gives the name of "Holy Poland" to an adored country. (Monica Gardner in "The Spirit of Poland.") (Month, June 1939. Pp. 517-524.)

THE JESUITS OF THE MIDDLE UNITED STATES

I. WORK AMONG THE INDIANS¹

N Canada the heroic exploits in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of the missioners of New France have for ever linked the name of Jesuit with the Redskin. Their missionary work, however, was not confined to Canada. but extended to territory since incorporated into the United States of America. No less than eight of the Middle Western states, that border the Great Lakes or the Upper Mississippi, witnessed their labours; and the present vast cities of Chicago and St. Louis were once but humble missionary stations where French Jesuits spent their lives in their efforts to evangelize the Indians. Between Marquette, the first Jesuit to traverse the watershed of the Mississippi, and Sebastien Louis Meurin, the last of his eighteenth-century successors to exercise the sacred ministry in those regions, a long line of missionaries of the Society of Jesus devoted themselves to the formidable task of Christianizing and civilizing the savage population of the Mid-West. But a sudden end was put to all this missionary activity in 1763, when the Superior Council of Louisiana issued a decree, suppressing every house of the Jesuits within its jurisdiction and proceeded to execute it with ruthless though unnecessary severity. It was not until some seven decades later, that the Jesuits returned to the Middle-West; and it was surely fitting that when they did so, their principal object was to undertake that same missionary work among the Indians, carried on in the preceding centuries by their brethren from France, whose memory, indeed, despite the lapse of years was still held in veneration by the tribes among whom they had toiled with such heroic zeal.

The Jesuits of the restored Society centred their missionary activities chiefly in the Eastern portion of the states of Kansas, and Washington, the North of Idaho and North-West of Montana. For the most part they adopted the following

¹ "The Jesuits of the Middle United States," by H. J. Garraghan, S. J., 3 vols. xi, 660, 669, 666, America Press, New York, 1938. One third of the work deals with Jesuit missionary effort among the Indians and forms a valuable contribution to missionary literature. The references throughout the article are to these volumes.

method for the evangelization of the Indians. At the invitation of a head-chief two or three fathers with a number of brothers would settle in the midst of the tribe. Church, residence and schools, generally of the log variety, were built and fenced in. and the land allotted to the missionaries cultivated for their support. Though numerous adult Indians were in fact converted, it was recognized from the first that the chief hope of implanting Christian civilization among the savages lay with the children. Hence the importance ever attached to schools both for boys and girls, where once baptised the young Indian was brought up in the Catholic Faith. Boarding schools, where possible, were preferred, as these ensured more regular attendance of the children and subjected them uninterruptedly to Christian influence. Apart from religion the girls under the supervision of nuns, were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, drawing, carding, spinning, knitting, embroidery and the like. They were shown how to make their own clothes, how to bake good bread, make butter and do every kind of housework. In addition to the three R's and a little geography and history the boys did a certain amount of manual work and received instruction, aided by practice, in the rudiments of gardening and agriculture. In two such schools, those among the Potawatomi and the Osage tribes, the Fathers obtained notable success and gained high commendation from Government agents. So popular, indeed, did the latter institution become with the Indians, that parents of other tribes were eager to see their children share the benefits of the school. Though these two establishments have long since passed away, it is pleasant to record that the Missouri Jesuits still carry on the tradition of successful educational effort on behalf of the Indian in the reservation of South Dakota. There, at the missionary centres of St. Francis Xavier and the Holy Rosary are to be found today the largest and best equipped Indian schools, conducted by the Catholic Church in the United States, the attendance in 1927 reaching 450 and 355 respectively, divided in about equal proportion of boys and girls, ranging in age between six and eighteen years.

Though their chief efforts were concentrated on the children, the missionaries by no means neglected the adult Indians. To civilize them by inducing them to take up farming instead of seeking a livelihood by hunting was one of the principal aims of the Fathers, second only in importance to their conversion to the Faith. Not only did the temporal needs of the Indian dictate

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the adoption of such a change, for with the advance of the white population game became more and more scarce and dependence on hunting increasingly precarious, but their spiritual regeneration made it even more imperative, for there was little hope of permanent good being effected, unless the Indians were weaned from their nomadic manner of life and taught to settle down to more stable forms of industry. "One of the principal objects of our solicitude," writes Father Gailland, a missioner among the Potawatomis:

is to inspire them with a taste for labour and domestic life, at all times infinitely more advantageous than the precarious means to be derived from hunting, as well in a temporal as in a spiritual sense. When once you have carried this point, you have made a great advance and have obtained everything from the savage. This is the object of all our endeavours at the present moment; in the exhortations that we make to them from the pulpit, we always revert to these main points: that the Great Spirit made labour a law; that He expects from them absolute renunciation of their savage customs; that unless they show themselves obedient unto His voice, their lot will still remain deplorable. . . . The respect which they show to the Black-robe, in conjunction with past experience, enables them to understand that these lessons are not a mere display of words, but are averred truths, attested by their preceding misfortunes; hence those who manifest dispositions of obedience are unable to find terms in which to express their joy at having adopted this new system of life which we recommend to them.1

But to induce them to make such a change in their way of life was an uphill task, for the Indian had an ingrained aversion to and even contempt for manual labour. Fr. Duerinck, in particular, who laboured among the Potawatomi, was remorseless in his efforts to bring the Indians to a better point of view with regard to the need and dignity of honest toil.

We lay down the principle, he writes, that labour is honourable and that it is a shame for a man to let his family starve. We frequently tell some of the poorer sort, that it is with them as with the 'starved pig,' either root or die. Plant corn and pumpkins, raise potatoes and beans, cease to beg, cease to be idle, cease to be a burden to

¹ II, 632.

others, make a garden and eat the fruit thereof. Suppose it makes you sweat, well what of it? A poor devil ought not to be so nice; a little sweat would not kill you. Some of our gentry have a grudge against us for boldly telling them these things, but in spite of the members of this lazy club, our flag still waves in the breeze, and we insist on their making a field and a garden, facilitating them in the way of obtaining a cow, or other domestic animals—helping the poor of good will, stimulating the sluggish, rebuking the vicious, reproving the improvident, praising the meritorious and encouraging the industrious among them.¹

Even when the Indians had been induced to undertake the work of the field, the difficulty was to keep them to it and prevent them reverting to their native indolence. Once on the Osage mission, when its founder Fr. Schoenmakers had fenced in a forty-acre field, the Indians showed remarkable zest for the initial work of ploughing, harrowing and planting the seeds in the various lots into which the field was divided. But there their labour ceased. Nothing could induce them to go further in cultivating the field. With a sense of triumphant logic they pointed to the grass which year by year came forth from Mother Earth with no human toil to coax it into being. If wheat and barley could not be got except by laborious cultivation of the soil, there was evidently there some perversion of Nature's processes in which they preferred to have no hand. The result was that by summer weeds, brambles and sunflowers covered the entire field, and when these disappeared in the fires the Indians were accustomed to start in October to consume the prairie grass, the very site of the forty-acre field became obliterated.

Not discouraged by the failure of this first attempt, Father Schoenmakers had recourse to other means. He noticed that when he took the larger boys to the fields for agricultural instruction, the adult Indians first watched with interest, then threw off their blankets, took a spade or other implement and helped their children with surprising earnestness. From this he gradually led them to do a little farming on their own account; and soon a regular settlement of some fifty families were cultivating plots of land. Three years later, the Indian agent reported that some bands of the Osage showed definite signs of abandoning hunting for agricultural pursuits: in many instances they ¹II, 666.

had built houses and fences, cultivated small patches of land, and raised corn of which they were proud to speak; and these improvements he ascribed to the generous efforts and kind advice of the Catholic missioners who had worked among them for the last fourteen years. Yet only moderate success had been attained after twenty years or more, when the Osage moved away from Jesuit influence into their diminished reserve.

Among the Potawatomi of Sugar Creek, Fr. C. Hoecken employed another device for their mutual encouragement and support in manual labour, organizing the Indians into working guilds with an overseer in charge to preside at certain prayers, said in common, assign the tasks and give all necessary directions to the workers. They marched to the fields at the call of the bugle and marched back again when the day's work was done.

It was a pleasant sight, reports Fr. Verreydt, the Superior of the Mission, to see them at work. Their natural indolent nature was there truly exhibited. One would plough for a little while, staggering as if he were drunk. Having never had a plough in his hands, no wonder he was laughed at by the few who knew better. As soon as he gave out, another commenced and thus as they worked by turns, laughing and joking, the field was made ready for cultivation. They soon began to see the advantages of industry and their little cabins began to be neatly fixed and some of them erected fine log houses.¹

Some years later, when the Potawatomi had moved from Sugar Creek to their new reservation at St. Mary's, Kansas, Fr. Duerinck was able to report: "It is a source of unfeigned gratification to us to see so many of our 'mission Indians' improve in their temporal condition, advance in civilization, and bid fair to become an agricultural people. Some of them had lived from time immemorial in poverty and destitution, but at the present day they live in ease and plenty, with moderate work. The march of the Potawatomi, except the prairie bands [non-Christians] is onward, and we will soon have great results." Two years later in 1857 the Indian agent reported that a large majority, probably two thirds of the Potawatomi were engaged in the cultivation of the soil.

There appeared to many, however, one obstacle in the way of progress:

The system, wrote Fr. Duerinck in 1855, of possess-

¹ II, 217. ² II, 666.

ing lands in common . . . is replete with evil and bad consequences, that will frustrate the best hopes that the friends of the Indians have conceived. I am bold to maintain that no Indian, no half-breed, no white man living amongst them, will ever feel encouraged to make his premises a comfortable home, as long as he labours under the fear that they are liable to be sold for the benefit of the nation at large. Give them a title to the land, and you will soon see them vie with each other in their improvements. Interest, emulation, and a laudable degree of pride, which are innate in every one of us, will do more to carry them honourably through the world than all the penalties and coercions now in force amongst them. When Bonnehomme has, during the summer, summoned his wife and family to share with him the toils and labours of the field; when he has secured his crops, and might expect to enjoy the fruits of his industry, then, day by day, week after week, you will see a gang of lazy neighbours, relatives and acquaintances, all indiscrete intruders, visit that family, eat and drink with them to their hearts content; and eat that poor man out of house and home.1

It seemed, therefore, to many that the best interests of the Indians demanded the introduction of individual ownership; and this in fact was established for those of the Potawatomi who desired it by the treaty of 1861. Unallotted land was to be sold for the benefit of the tribe, whilst undivided portions were to be set aside for the minority who still held to common ownership. This minority, in effect, numbering some six hundred, who belonged for the most part to the non-Christian prairie band, were given a new reserve, some eleven miles square in extent, in the present Jackson Country, Kansas, where their descendants to-day still possess the land in common. A further treaty of 1867 made provision for such matters as the admission of Indians to American citizenship, tribal funds, annuities and the like, and empowered the Government to purchase out of the proceeds of surplus lands a reservation not to exceed thirty miles square in extent, in what is now Oklahoma. This policy of sectionizing the land was no doubt influenced by the Nebraska-Kansas bill of 1854, which threw open that part of the country to the white population. In consequence thousands of settlers poured into Kansas. Invasion of the Indian reserve by the incoming white population appeared to be taken for 1 II, 668.

granted, possibly on insufficient evidence, though some depredations had already taken place. Nothing therefore was left for the Indians but to adjust themselves to the new situation and meet the white man on equal ground as citizens of the United States and individual owners.

Though the introduction of individual ownership was undoubtedly intended to protect and benefit the Indian, its effects were far otherwise. This was not through any inherent defect in the policy itself, but through the failure to provide sufficient safeguards against unscrupulous whites exploiting the characteristic improvidence of the Redskin. Once possessed of property he could dispose of, the Indian, regardless of future needs, tended to make it available for present enjoyment. Knowing this, these white landsharks used all manner of means, especially the aid of drink, generously supplied, to induce the Indian to sell his land for ready money far below its value. Thus, one parted with eighty acres for 300 dollars, a buggy and a pair of horses; another sold his claim, his wife's, and that of his four children for 1200 dollars. And so it went on. The money gained by such exchanges was only too frequently spent in drink and there ensued all the excesses and fatal consequences that drink has on the Indian. The measure, in fact, resulted in the pauperization, demoralization and progressive disappearance of this branch of the Potawatomi. By 1876 Fr. Gailland estimated those still to be found in the old reserve to be about six hundred. Deploring the sad effects both spiritual and temporal of the measure, he contrasted the present evil condition of the tribe with that preceding it, when the Potawatomi had acquired to a great degree the habit of industry, were regular in attending to their religious duties and by the purity of their morals and vivacity of their faith had been the edification of their white neighbours. "What a sad spectacle," he continues, "it is for a missionary to see the work of so many years destroyed, and his flock devoured by merciless wolves! Like the prophet standing amid the ruins what else remains for him but to weep over the destruction, to bewail his sins, to implore divine mercy and to sigh after a better home? One thing, however, in my bitter grief consoles me, that a certain number, small indeed, have remained firm and that to my knowledge none of those that have forsaken the path of virtue have lost the faith. This revives in them sooner or later, especially in times of sickness and adversity." His account, 1 III, 63.

indeed, may well be called the obituary of the tribe. It is only fair to add that in later allotments of land to individual Indians, the Government, warned by these deplorable effects, took precautions to secure the several land-owners in possession of their property and prevent them from alienating it unwisely.

The work of the Jesuits, though chiefly concerned with the Indians at the central missionary stations, was by no means confined to them. From these centres missionaries would make journeys to other tribes, staying with them at times several weeks, to impart the first notions of the Faith or keep alive what little knowledge the Indians already had of it; and to baptize such children as were presented to them. Often enough, where the tribe was not too far distant from the central station, a new post would be established to be visited periodically several times a year. How extensive a field these missionary journeys covered, may be gathered from the fact that they embraced thirteen or fourteen of the present states of the Union, ranging from Oklahoma in the South to Montana in the North, and from Minnesota in the Mid-West to Washington and Oregon on the Pacific coast. Father Nobili in the forties even penetrated as far North as the Stuart and Baline Lakes in what is now British Columbia, setting up chapels at various trading ports of the Hudson Bay Company for the white population, but also evangelizing the Indian tribes he met with on his route. Fr. De Smet, too, the famous Jesuit missioner, who founded the Rocky Mountain Mission, sowed the first seeds of Christianity or tended those already sown, and thereby prepared the way for their ultimate conversion, in not a few of the many tribes he met with in the course of his numerous and lengthy journeys. Thus between thirty and forty different tribes were visited by the Fathers, with the result that, later, when sufficient priests were available, permanent stations were established amongst some of the tribes, such as the Chaudières, the Nez Percés, the Spokane, the Gros Ventres, the Crows, the Sioux, the Arapaho and the like.

What strikes one in all this history of a century and more missionary work is the readiness with which the Indians received the Catholic missionaries; rarely does one come across cases of real hostility on their part. Instance after instance could be quoted of tribes petitioning for a Catholic priest to take up his residence among them, or for a Catholic school to be established in their midst. Perhaps the most striking example is that of the Flatheads, who inhabited the Upper Reaches

of the Columbia river, immediately west of the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains. The first, very elementary notions of the Faith they had received from a Catholic Iroquois, Ignace la Mousse, who leaving Canada with a small band of his fellow Indians, had visited the Flathead settlement, settled down amongst them, and been adopted into the tribe. Between 1831 and 1839, inspired by his insistence on the necessity of having Black Robes in their midst to teach them the white man's faith. they had sent no less than four deputations to the Jesuits at St. Louis—some 2000 miles away¹, to ask for Catholic missioners to come and instruct them. Disaster befell the third deputation. for meeting with a hostile band of Sioux, its members were all massacred, Ignace himself, though being taken for a white man, he could have escaped, refusing to abandon his friends and perishing with them. At the fourth request, the Fathers, though still short of men, decided to delay no longer, but despatched De Smet to explore the possibility of a permanent mission among them. Having on his return reported strongly in its favour, he with two other fathers and some brothers were sent back to evangelize the Flatheads. Thus was started the famous Jesuit mission of the Rocky Mountains, linked by God's inscrutable Providence, through Ignace la Mousse, to those Iroquois who, in the seventeenth century, had laid waste the Huron mission of New France and sent Lallemant, Brébœuf and other Jesuits to a martyr's death.

For the most part, Indian agents and the Federal Government itself looked with favour on the desire of the Indians for Catholic missionaries. But a change came in 1870 and for a period the central authorities took up an adverse attitude to such petitions. A standing grievance among the Arapaho and the Cheyenne, for instance, was their inability to secure Catholic missionaries, though they had sent a delegation to the capital, to make known their desires. In numerous tribes which Fr. Ponziglione visited in the seventies he found a similar situation: an earnest wish on the part of the Indians to be served by Catholic priests and a refusal on the part of the Government to accede to their demands. This unsympathetic attitude was in reality the outcome of President Grant's policy or rather of the manner in which that policy was carried out. In 1870 tired of destructive and expensive Indian wars, he

¹ Writing from St. Louis in 1844, Fr. Van Assche stated that ordinarily it required two years to get an answer to a letter sent to the Rocky Mountain Mission, and very often three or four years, as there was no regular and certain communication between that Mission and St. Louis.

looked for a solution of the Indian problem in the Christianizing of the tribes. Indian agencies, hitherto held by laymen, were to be handed over to such religious denominations as had previously established missionaries among the Indians. "This plan was fair and practicable and might have proved successful had it been carried out impartially. In 1870 there were seventy-two Indian agencies, and in thirty-eight of these Catholic missionaries had been the first to establish themselves. Despite this fact only eight . . . were assigned to the Catholic Church. Eighty thousand Catholic Indians passed from Catholic influence to Protestant control." For a time, too, the Government allowed only one religious denomination to establish itself on a given reserve, irrespective of the wishes of the Indians, which was tantamount to imposing the religious denomination of its own choosing on the Indians, denving to them freedom in the choice of religion they desired to follow. Happily the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and kindred institutions arising from it, which were called into being by these Government measures, in order to protect Catholic interests and the rights of the Indians, have in time somewhat ameliorated the position and won for the Redskin recognition of his God-given liberty in matters of religion.

Reviewing this century and more of missionary effort, it may be said that despite disheartening failures, the Jesuits attained a fair measure of success. Perhaps, their greatest achievements were among the Kalispel and Cœur d'Alène, both of which tribes remain to this day under their spiritual care. Testimony to the beneficent effect of their work among the Kalispel was given in the United States' Senate by Senator Vest of Missouri in 1884, some forty years after the foundation of the mission. He spoke, he said, as a Protestant, and he hoped a representative Protestant, but as one who simply had to accept results and these results, as he witnessed them with his own eyes on a personal visit to the Jesuit missions of Montana, were of a nature to convince him "that the Jesuits had the key to the whole problem of Indian education."2 As to the Cœur d'Alène, they have often been pointed out as an especial instance of what Christian influence can accomplish for the moral and material improvement of the Indian. When the Jesuits first came among them, the tribe had an unenviable reputation, not only among the white population but among the Indian tribes as well. In

¹ Catholic Encyclopedia VII, 745.

² II, 313.

1845 Fr. Joset described them as "a people among whom every notion of God, every tradition had been effaced. It was common saying that courage and generosity were not the portion of the Cœur d'Alènes. All who have had dealings with them are one in saying that the first French or Canadians who made their acquaintance and who gave them this name could not have found a more suitable one: Cœur d'Alène, heart as big as an awl, to signify the absence of all elevated, noble and generous sentiments." Yet only nine years after a permanent residence had been established among them, Fr. Adrian Hoecken wrote of them: "I think the Cœur d'Alènes are the best instructed (of the tribes) in the matter of religion. They were the most intractable nation of all. Since the Fathers have been amongst them, they are entirely changed."2 Two years later, in 1853, Governor Isaac Stevens after a visit to the mission recorded: "The Cœur d'Alène Indians are underestimated by all the authorities. They have some seventy lodges and number about five hundred inhabitants. They are much indebted to the good Fathers for making considerable progress in agriculture. They have abandoned polygamy, have been taught the rudiments of Christianity and are greatly improved in their morals and in the comforts of life. It is indeed extraordinary what the Fathers have done at the Cœur d'Alène mission."3 Since then, they have continued to live up to this reputation acquired after the first decade of Jesuit missionary effort on their behalf. Of a visit to the mission in 1913, W. J. McConnell, a former Governor of Idaho, wrote: "The Cœur d'Alène mission continues the work for which it was established, and to the efforts of that church [the Catholic] may justly be credited the rapid advancement and prosperity of that tribe. . . . Their condition to-day, morally and financially, as well as their record of good behaviour in the past, is an example of what might have been accomplished with other tribes if similar methods had been followed."4

On the part of the Indians, what perhaps most militated against greater success was their passion for strong liquor. According to Father Verreydt in a letter of December 6th, 1839, concerning the Potawatomi of Council Bluffs, drink was the supreme evil among them: "their ruin, their destruction, the greatest obstacle to their salvation." Were it not for this

¹ II, 313. ² II, 317.

^{*} II, 323.

⁴ II, 325.

unfortunate weakness, he adds, they would be converted en masse.1 Of the same tribe De Smet had written a few months earlier: "The passion of the savages for strong drink is inconceivable. They give horses, blankets, all, in a word, to have a little of the brutalizing liquid. Their drunkenness only ceases when they have nothing more to drink. Some of our neophytes have not been able to resist this terrible torrent, and have allowed themselves to be drawn into it. I have written an energetic letter to the Government against these abominable trafficers."2 To sell liquor such as whisky to the Indians was, indeed, illicit, but among the half-breeds and the white population there was no lack of blackguards who seized every opportunity to make money by this nefarious trade. Special occasions for it arose when the Government annuities were apportioned among the Indians. On the day after 9000 dollars had been so distributed, De Smet recorded in his diary: "Drunkards are seen and heard in all places. Liquor is rolled out to the Indians by whole barrels; sold by white men even in the presence of the agent. Wagon loads of the abominable stuff arrive daily from the settlements and along with it the very dregs of our white neighbours. . . . Three horses have been brought to the ground and killed with axes. Two more noses were bitten off and a score of other horrible mutilations have taken place."3 Government agents, well intentioned though they were, appeared powerless to check the evil. The missioners, at Council Bluffs, could make little head against it, and after four years of discouraging effort, as men were wanted elsewhere for more promising fields of apostolic labour, the mission was abandoned. It was partly also for this reason, that the Kickapoo mission was relinquished. The chief of the tribe, who later became a Catholic, held several conversations on the subject with Fr. Christian Hoecken, deploring the prevalence of drinking among his fellow Indians. "Intoxication," he said, "prevails to such a degree among them that in a few years it will destroy all my people"; and for that reason he desired to move to other reserves, where they would be to a great extent out of reach of temptation. With the Osage Indians the Fathers seem to have been successful in combating the evil; for though in 1847 when the mission was started, drunkenness was wide-

¹ I, 445, note.

¹ I, 440.

³ August 20th, 1839, I, 440. Amongst these Indians it was the habit in drunken orgies and brawls to make for one another's nose. Fr. Verreydt affirmed that more than a hundred of the Potawatomi were lacking this important organ.

spread in the tribe, eventually, as Fr. Bax relates, who worked among them, it was in great measure suppressed. Even among the Forest Potawatomi of Sugar Creek, whose rapid progress in the Faith and in civilization was so encouraging, constant efforts had to be made to keep the evil in check. As a countermeasure in 1843, Fr. Verreydt organized a band of these Indians, under the leadership of Brother Van der Borght, into an anti-liquor brigade. Its members were to keep watch that no strong drink was brought into the village, and if any Indian was reported to have such in his possession, to go at once to search his home for the prohibited bottles and spill the contents. Later, encouraged by the Fathers and with the warm commendation of the Government agent, these Indians met in council and passed stringent laws against the traffic. Eleven constables were elected to ensure their observance. Anyone caught bringing liquor into the mission was to be locked up in the guard-room at Fort Scott. Soon the Indians had a jail of their own for the punishment of law-breakers. Despite all these measures, the evil though checked, was never thoroughly uprooted and continued to hamper seriously the work of the missionaries. It was this in part that led the Government to remove the Indians to lands in Eastern Kansas, where, isolated from the white population, they would be protected from this source of infection. Yet two decades later, when Kansas was thrown open to the white man, drink, as already narrated, caused havoc among the converted Indians, pauperizing them and eventually disintegrating them as a united tribe. Association with the so-called civilized white population, as Father Bax pointed out, brought no advantage to the Indian. "On the contrary, he learned only the vices of the latter, and not having any blasphemous terms in his own language, learned to curse God in the language of the whites." Sad experience brought the conclusion that isolation from the white man in Indian reserves was in the true interest of the Redskin.

On the side of the Jesuits more widespread success in evangelizing the Indians was prevented by their lack of resources, particularly in men. Up to the seventies recruits had largely to be supplied from Europe, the majority coming from Belgium and Holland. From the forties, moreover, the white population of the Mid-West began to increase by leaps and bounds; and owing to the great dearth of priests in that region, there was grave danger of many among the Catholic immigrants

¹ II, 503.

giving up the practice of their religion and even of apostatizing. Priests were wanted on all sides and the Iesuits had to play their part in the all-important task of preserving and spreading the Faith among the white settlers. The calls upon them in the field of education, of parochial work and of missionary expeditions to scattered groups of Catholics and the like were heavy and varied. The number of recruits from Europe was never really adequate to the demands. Missionary work among the Indians had perforce to be restricted. It was a case of the fields being ripe for the harvest, but the labourers few. Tribe after tribe was ready to receive the Faith and even desired as already indicated, the residence in their midst of a Catholic priest to instruct them in it. De Smet, indeed, envisaged the evangelization of all the Oregon tribes, yet owing to this dearth of men, the Fathers could only establish permanent missions among comparatively few of them. It was the same with the Indians of the Plains, East of the Rocky Mountains. In 1851, the Jesuit Vicar Apostolic of that region, Bishop Miège, wrote to the General: "As to possible missions, there are as many as there are Indian tribes but one cannot establish such without great resources in men and money." In this and the following decade both Indians and Government officials appealed to De Smet to undertake such missions, but year after year he found his hands tied by lack of funds and personnel. The Fathers, indeed, endeavoured to supply the need in part by annual missionary excursions into the Indian country, but these, however productive of good results, were no adequate substitute for permanent missions. It was always the same story: there were not sufficient men to open residences among the various tribes. Indeed, it might be said, that the success that was gained, was out of proportion to the number of men available, and was only achieved by the great labours and sacrifices of those engaged in the work.

Conditions have changed since then; more labourers have taken up the task, but the Jesuits still continue to cultivate the field of Indian missions, having more than eighty of their members engaged therein, thus perpetuating in the Society that splendid tradition of missionary enterprise on behalf of the Redskin, which was established by their brethren of New

France over three hundred years ago.

LEO HICKS.

¹ Miège to Roothaan, February 13th, 1851, II, 442.

MISCELLANEA

I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

BLESSED MARGARET OF SALISBURY

The Fourth Centenary of her Martyrdom May 28th, 1941.

In 1541, on May 27th or 28th—it matters little which date is exact—the last of the Plantagenets was executed by order of Henry VIII: a martyr of the Church, and in a sense a martyr also of the cause of Christian kingship in England. She was a woman: Margaret, Countess of Salisbury and mother of Reginald Cardinal Pole, and the only survivor in the male descent of the legitimate Plantagenet or Yorkist line of England when Henry VIII came to the throne.

Of all the many murders of his reign, the killing of this aged Countess was from a human point of view the most terrible, as in the eyes of God it was a martyrdom which the Church saluted when

Pope Leo XIII counted her among the English Beati.

When such men as St. Thomas More or St. John Fisher were sent to the block, the King was removing from his path formidable opponents, who stood between him and the realization of his desires. But when Margaret Pole was executed, in a peculiarly brutal manner and at the age of sixty-seven, he did no more than satisfy against the mother some of his anger against her son. She had herself expressed no public views against the royal bigamy, nor was she in a position greatly to influence opinion against the King had she done so; on the contrary, she had even remonstrated with her son against the outspoken language of his letter *De Ecclesiae Unitate*. But she never betrayed him by denial: had she done so, she could have saved her life, as did her son Sir Geoffrey. Under the most cruel pressure during two years of imprisonment she declined apostasy, so earning at the last the crown of martyrdom.

If she died also in a sense for the cause of Christian kingship, that is only to say that a pretext for her murder was that in her veins the blood of the Plantagenets still ran—the Plantagenets, who all save her had perished in battle or on the block because their conception of the Monarchy (as practised, for instance, by Richard II) was

popular and against the great Lords.

Her martyrdom at the hands of Henry was the more horrible again because in the first years of his reign he had shown her especial favour and regard. Her elder brother, Edward of Warwick, after spending twelve years in unjust confinement, had been executed by Henry VII as the last of the male Yorkists, as was required by the policy of systematically exterminating the line. Henry VIII made a gesture of amends to his sister, at the instance, we may conjecture, of his Queen, Catherine of Aragon, in whose service the Lady Margaret had passed what must have been the happiest days of her life. The attainder of her brother was reversed; the Lady Margaret—now a widow—was created Countess of Salisbury in her own right (that earldom having been held by her brother); and her family lands were restored to her, to the value, say the State Papers, of £1,599 19s. 10½d. So she was enabled to endow the beautiful chantry in the Priory Church of Christchurch, Hampshire, which is still associated with her name.

In 1514 the King revived the barony of Montague for her eldest son, Henry Pole. Two years later there was born the royal Princess who was to be Queen as Mary of England; and very soon it was the opinion at Court that she might later find a fitting husband in the third son of the Countess of Salisbury, Reginald, not yet committed to the Church. For the King at this time held the Countess very highly in regard, and chiefly for her sanctity; he spoke frequently of her as the most saintly woman in England, and to her he entrusted the care and education of his first-born child. At Ditton Park and at Ludlow Castle, she was in constant attendance as head of the royal infant's household, guided by these instructions from the King:

First, principally, and above all things, the Countesse of Salisburey, being Ladie Governesse, shall, according to the singular confidence that the King's Highness hath in her, give most tender regard to all such things as concerne the person of the said Princesse, her honble. educacon and trayneing in all vertuous demeanor. That is to say, at due times to serve God, from whom all grace and goodnes proceedeth. Semblably at seasons convenient to use moderate exercise for takeinge open ayer in gardens, swete and holsome places and walkes, which may confer unto her health, solace and comfort, as by the said Ladie Governesse shal be thought most convenient.

No doubt the pious example of her Ladie Governesse laid in Mary Tudor the foundations of the same primary devotion to God and to His Church which she showed when she was Queen. And it was in these years of childhood also that the future Queen first knew Reginald Pole, a lad of sixteen when she was born; although he was for much of the time a student on the continent. He went, we may observe, and was maintained at Padua, largely at the expense of the King, still the *Fidei Defensor*, still the great admirer of the mother's sanctity which by his decree was to be consummated in martyrdom.

The King, indeed, had always made of Reginald Pole his special protégé, paying for his earliest lessons with the Carthusians at Sheen,

sending him then to Magdalen College at Oxford, and afterwards making him a grant of £100 a year, as well as bestowing numerous ecclesiastical benefices upon him, to enable him to study in the Universities of Italy. And so all was well and happy until January

25th, 1533.

That was the date of the King's bigamous marriage to Anne Boleyn. It meant that in the eyes of her father the Princess Mary was a bastard. She was taken from the Governess whom she had come to know as well as, and to love equally with her mother; the Countess retired to her country home at Warblington, in Hampshire, to pray for her country. Her son Reginald on the continent by his constancy to his conscience roused more and more greatly the anger of the King; who being unable to lay hands upon him determined to work his vengeance on the family of Pole. Early in 1536 the unhappy Queen Catherine died, and the Countess of Salisbury, now past her sixtieth birthday, lost her chief friend when she was most in need of protection.

Reginald was made a Cardinal, and a month or two later, in August 1538, his second brother, Sir Geoffrey, was sent to the Tower. Sir Geoffrey, under threat of torture but to his shame, there gave evidence which led to the arrest of his elder brother, Lord Montague, with the heads of two other families associated with the House of York. All were executed save Geoffrey, on the charge of "devising to maintain, promote and advance one Reginald Pole, late Dean of Excester, enemy to the King beyond the sea." Six months later these murders were legalized by an Act of Attainder. Their children also were thrown into prison, and, says a contemporary observer, "If so be my Lady Salisbury had been a young woman, as she is an old

But her respite was short. She had been arrested before her eldest son was beheaded, by two inquisitors who came to Warblington in November and removed her to the Earl of Southampton's house at Cowdray, in Sussex. There she was subjected to a prolonged examination; but, wrote Southampton to Cromwell, "your Lordship must understand that it is impossible to succeed with her, so

woman, the King's grace and his council had burnt her."

great is her obstinacy ":

Yesterday we travailled with the Lady Salisbury till almost night. . . . This day, although we entreated her sometimes with mild words and now roughly and aspertly, by traitoring her and her sons to the ninth degree, yet she would nothing utter, but utterly denied all that is objected unto her. . . We have dealt with such an one as men have not dealed withal before: we may call her rather a strong and constant man, than a woman. For in all behaviour, howsoever we have used her, she hath shewed herself so earnest, vehement and precise, that more could not be.

Therefore a Bill of Attainder was necessary, and this Cromwell presented to Parliament at the same time as that against her kinsmen who had already been beheaded. "Whereas," it ran:

Whereas Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, and Hugh Vaughan, late of Bekener in the county of Monmouth, yeoman, by the instigation of the devil, putting apart the dread of Almighty God, their duty of allegiance and the excellent benefits received of his Highness, have not only traitorously confederated themselves with the false and abominable traitors Henry Pole, Lord Montague, and Reginald Pole, sons to the said Countess, knowing them to be false traitors; but also she has aided, abetted, maintained and comforted them in their said false and abominable treason, to the most fearful peril of his Highness, the Commonwealth of this realm, &c., the Countess shall be declared attained, and suffer the pains and penalties of high treason.

At the final reading of this Act-31 Henry VIII, cap. 15-in the House of Lords, Cromwell tried the effect of dramatic evidence upon the assembled peers. With a gesture he produced a white silk garment-probably a chasuble-on the front of which were embroidered the royal arms of England within a border of "pounces and marigolds," and on the back a device containing the Five Wounds of Christ. The pounces, or pansies, represented Cardinal Pole, said Cromwell, and the marigolds the Princess Mary; and see how they were entwined around the royal arms-what more could prove a plot to usurp the Crown in favour of the Roman religion? As for the back, that was easy; the Five Wounds were well known to be the badge of the seditious Pilgrimage of Grace. The "most fearful peril of his Highness" being thus made clear by the proof that the Countess of Salisbury had owned such a vestment. the Attainder was passed without further delay; and so she, as her eldest son had been, was condemned to death having confessed to no crime, nor made any defence, nor heard her sentence passed.

She was removed from Cowdray to the Tower of London, where she remained confined for two years—until after Cromwell himself had gone to the scaffold. Everything that she had was taken from her, and one lay in the abject destitution that is the more severe to those of gentle birth who have been accustomed to amenities. With no company save that of "men of iron heart and grosser conduct"; with no consolations save that, in her own words, she was "allowed one privilege for which she was grateful, and valued more than fine dishes or good fires": this was the possession of her Book of Hours, her golden crucifix, and the rosary which the King's mother, Elizabeth of York, had given her—so she remained for two years, constant in her trust in God, inflexible in her courage, "tormented

by the severity of the weather and insufficient clothing." "However, Sire," the French Ambassador wrote to Francis I, "neither sex nor age, nor blood nor long imprisonment, nor any other considerations prevented them from shortening the few days she had to live." It is pleasant to learn that towards the end of this ordeal, as her death was approaching, the sympathy of the new consort of the King was extended to her; at the expense of Catherine Howard she received new clothes and a woman to attend her.

In the spring of 1541, Sir John Neville, a descendant of the Kingmaker of whom Margaret of Salisbury was, through her mother, a grand-daughter, and a man of the family from which she received her title of Salisbury, raised again in Yorkshire the standard of protest against the extirpation of the Faith. His movement was quickly suppressed, and he beheaded, but the circumstances caused Henry to decide that an end must be made of the family. He ordered that the execution of Margaret should be delayed no longer.

Probably on the morning of May 28th, but possibly on May 27th, she was accordingly carried from her cell to East Smithfield Green, near St. Peter's Church within the Tower precincts. No scaffold had been erected, and the headsman was away from London. She declined to place her head upon the block. "So do traitors do, and I am none. I have committed no crime; I have had no trial." And then, in a phrase similar to one used by St. Thomas More six years earlier, "My head never committed treason; if you will have it, you must take it as you can."

She was old and her hairs were grey. Those who witnessed this ghastly martyrdom reported that the youth who deputized for the headsman aimed wildly and did not more than wound her, so that as she evaded him, frantic with pain, he had to strike again and again

before at last the head was severed from her body.

She had hoped that she might be buried in the chantry at Christ-church which she had endowed, and where she had prepared for herself a tomb carved by Pietro Torrigiano, the compeer of Michelangelo. But Cromwell's commissioners had already made this impossible. The Augustinian priory, four centuries old, had been visited by them, and its "goodly large crosses," its "goodly great pyxes," and "other things of silver, right honest and of good value," had been "reserved and kept for the King's use." While doing this, the commissioners reported that "in the church we found a chapel and monument curiously made of Caen stone, prepared by the mother of Reynold Pole for herre bureall, which we caused to be defaced, and all the armys and badges clerely to be delete."

So the remains of the mother of Reynold Pole were laid instead hastily in the adjacent church of St. Peter ad Vincula, where also the body of St. Thomas More had been lain.

"I was with Cardinal Pole," wrote his secretary and biographer, Beccadelli, "when he heard of his mother's death. To me he said:

Hitherto I thought God had given me the grace to be the son of one of the best and most honourable ladies in England, and I gloried in that fact and thanked God for it. Now, however, He has honoured me still more and increased my debt of gratitude to Him, for He has made me the son of a martyr. For her constancy in the Catholic Faith the King has caused her to be publicly beheaded, in spite of her seventy years. Blessed and thanked be God for ever."

MICHAEL DERRICK.

PRAYER OF ST. AUGUSTINE

Do Thou give me strength to seek, who hast made me find Thee, and hast given me the hope of finding Thee more and more. My strength and my weakness are in Thy sight: preserve the one, and heal the other. My knowledge and my ignorance are in Thy sight. Where Thou hast opened to me, receive me as I enter: where Thou hast closed, open to my knocking. May I remember Thee, understand Thee, love Thee! Increase these things in me until Thou hast wholly corrected and changed me. (De Trinitate XV, xxviii, 51.)

France, jadis on te souloit nommer,
En tous païs, le trésor de noblesse;
Car un chacun pouvoit en toy trouver
Bonté, honneur, loyauté, gentilesse,
Clergie, sens, courtoisie, proesse.
Dieu a les bras ouvers pour t'acoler
Prest d'oublier ta vie pécheresse:
Requiez pardon, bien te vendra aidier
Nostre-dame, la très-puissant princesse,
Qui est ton cry et que tiens pour maitresse,
Les saints aussy te vendront secourir
Desquelz les corps ont en toy demourance;
Ne vuilles plus ne ton péchié dormir,
Très-chrestien, franc, Royaume de France.
(Charles, Duc d'Orléans, 1391-1464.)

II. OUR CONTEMPORARIES

BLACKFRAIRS: May, 1941. England's Reception of "Rerum Novarum," by Philip Hughes. [Has some interesting historical notes, with special reference to Cardinal Manning and a kindly comment upon a Month article for July, 1891.]

CATHOLIC HERALD: May 9, 1941. "Rerum Novarum" through Many Eyes. [A timely symposium in honour of the great Encyclical.]

CLERGY REVIEW: May, 1941. The Jubilee of "Rerum Novarum," by Lewis Watt, S.J. [Father Watt describes the "background of fact and theory" against which Leo's famous letter on social conditions was composed.]

COLUMBA: May, 1941. Cardinal Manning and the Workers, by Denis Gwynn. [A brief reminder of Cardinal Manning's work during the London Dock Strike of 1889 and of his influence in the preparation of the Encyclical.]

COMMONWEAL: April 25, 1941. Dostoievski on Germany, by Dimitry V. Lehovich. [Contains a number of valuable, almost prophetic, extracts from the little-known "Writer's Diary" of the Russian novelist.]

Downside Review: April, 1941. Psychoanalysis and the Supernatural, by C. J. Woollen. [Some useful comments on the claims and shortcomings of Freudian and other schools of psychology.]

IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD: May, 1941. The Irish Latin Hymns, by Right Reverend Dean Mulcahy. [The article examines and translates two ancient Irish hymns of the fifth and sixth centuries—the "Sancti Venite" of St. Sechnall and the "Altus Prosator" of St. Columba.]

ROCK: March, 1941. From Luther to Hitler, by W. T. Walsh. [A Hong Kong reprint of an American article which traces the rise of State demands and domination from one German to another.]

SWORD OF THE SPIRIT: May 15, 1941. The Stoll Public Meetings. [This issue of the Bulletin gives an account of the admirable speeches made at the Joint Public Meetings, some of them being reproduced in extenso.]

TABLET: May 3, 1941. The Persecuted Church in Poland. [The sub-title of the article is "Fresh Light on German Methods": startling light is thrown on the villainy, inhumanity, and entirely anti-Catholic behaviour of the German oppressor in Poland.]

THOUGHT: March, 1941. The Right of To-morrow's Children, by Thomas Verner Moore. [A distinguished psychologist stresses the responsibility of the State and of social groups which "are the custodians of the children of to-morrow."]

Universe: May 16, 1941. Christian Leaders and Laity Agree on Peace Principles. [A special and detailed report of the Sword of the Spirit meetings organized at the Stoll Theatre.]

REVIEWS

1-THE STEPS OF HUMILITY1

NE can imagine the perplexity, even alarm, which would beset St. Bernard were it brought to his notice that his Epistemology had been made the subject of analysis by a philosopher of Harvard. There must be others too, who will feel a certain curiosity in such an unlikely piece of research work. But Mr. Burch has exalted views about philosophy and he very rightly places them before the reader on the first page of his Preface where he writes: "Bernard was one of the few who truly love the true Wisdom and are therefore truly called Philosophers. Their love of worldly wisdom is transcended, and their desire of divine Wisdom is consummated, in the love of divine Wisdom experienced in the rapture of mystical contemplation." Now, Epistemology is concerned with the theory of natural knowledge, which for Bernard, as for many a true philosopher, has little value apart from its power to lead to divine knowledge. In reading Mr. Burch's Introduction we become aware that he is analysing the saint's theory of supernatural knowledge; in the course of this analysis he claims to have found the fundamental principle of Bernard's Epistemology. This discovery is of no very great value (it even leads Mr. Burch into error, as we shall see) but we are indebted to him for attempting the task for he has provided us with an interesting exposition of Bernard's theory of supernatural knowledge.

Drawing in masterly fashion upon all the genuine works of the saint, he traces in his Introduction (which is lengthier than the treatise it introduces), Bernard's teaching concerning the subject, object and method of knowledge. He shows us how, for Bernard, the subject of knowledge is the monk, the object—God, the method humility, love and contemplation. Here we see the connection with "The Steps of Humility," because we arrive at the knowledge of God by way of knowledge of self, which is the immediate fruit of humility. But even when we have attained to the summit of the Ladder of Humility, St. Bernard tells us, our journey is not yet over for we have reached only the first of the three steps of Truth, which is truth in oneself. Thence we have to proceed to the next step which is truth in one's neighbour and finally to the last step, namely God Himself, the very Truth. These three steps of Truth form the first part of the saint's essay; the second part consists of a commentary on St. Benedict's Twelve Degrees of Humility. The

^{1 &}quot;The Steps of Humility," by St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux. Translated by George Bosworth Burch. Harvard University Press, 1940. Price \$3.00. Humphrey Milford and Oxford University Press: Price 16s. 6d. Pp. 287.

abbot of Clairvaux, finding himself better qualified to speak of pride than of humility, composes his commentary accordingly.

In the course of his Introduction and notes, Mr. Burch deals with points that cover practically the whole field of dogma. Although he professes to do no more than explain the saint's doctrine, there are occasions where he misinterprets it. This is natural enough in one who has not the necessary backing of Catholic theology and thought. An example can be taken from page 242, where Mr. Burch writes: "Although God had the power to redeem man by his omnipotence without resorting to incarnation or any other device beyond his mere fiat, nevertheless he would not have had the will to do so except for his love for man which resulted from the sympathy for, that is direct knowledge of, man which he acquired, and could only have acquired as a man. Therefore the redemption would have been impossible without the incarnation not because justice required the sacrifice of a God-man, but because of the law that only like can know or love like." This is an unfortunate application of what Mr. Burch claims to be Bernard's fundamental principle of Epistemology, namely, that like knows like. But apart from some errors of dogma, there are other points to which Catholic readers will object. For example, they will not be wholly satisfied with a series of quotations from William James which are given in order to elucidate and confirm Bernard's own description of the mystical state. The nearest to ecstasy that William James ever got was by experimenting on himself with nitrous oxide.

A word must be said about the translation of this treatise, which, according to the magnificent claim of the publishers "is one of the most beautiful and most polished pieces of prose in all Latin literature." Whether one agrees with this verdict or not, it is certain that Bernard never wrote anything finer. Mr. Burch has succeeded not only in giving a faithful rendering but also in reproducing the style of the original. On reading the translation one is forced time and again to glance at the Latin text on the opposite page and to marvel at the elegant accuracy of the translator.

It is a pleasure to handle the volume, with its excellent paper and print. It deserves to be read by many, Catholics and non-Catholics alike, though the former must be prepared to exercise due caution in accepting certain statements of the translator, especially where he deals with the human knowledge of Christ, with faith and baptism. One could hardly recommend the book, in the words of the publishers, as indispensable to all students of medieval philosophy but one would not hesitate to commend it to any who have a taste for mystical and ascetical theology. A final word of gratitude is due to the Department of Philosophy of Harvard University for granting the subsidy which enabled the book to be published. That, certainly, was both generous and broad-minded.

2-A MAN AMONG MEN¹

PEOPLE with Hitler's view of Christianity, who would confine the monk to his cell and the priest to his church and sacristy, are genuinely vexed, and affect to be scandalized, when a priest, or still worse when a monk, breaks the bounds they would impose. Such a priest and such a monk was the great Englishman whom Abbot Butler rescued for us from the danger of becoming a mere legend, in his two fascinating volumes "The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne." And now Mr. Shane Leslie has completed the good work by giving us unabridged and undoctored the Autobiography which had been obtainable hitherto only in a very milk-and-

watery form, happily out of print.

To appreciate the Autobiography it is of great advantage to have read the Life and Times: in the latter one sees the man through his action and through the eyes of others: in the former the man reveals himself in his style—his strength, his simplicity, his candour, his courage, his wisdom and above all, as one would expect in a Benedictine, his charity. If Archbishop Ullathorne was always fighting he was always fighting other people's battles, battles which the other people were not able to fight for themselves and which in some cases they did not wish to be fought lest worse befell them. He laboured for the reform and then gradual abolition of the loath-some convict system in Australia and was afterwards so highly and so universally praised, but at the time he was so violently abused that he was known as the Very Reverend Agitator-General of New South Wales.

Seldom has any man led so varied and vivid a life. His account of his boyhood gives us a true insight into the attractive manners of Yorkshire folk at the very beginning of the nineteenth century. He left school at the age of twelve and being unable to settle down to his father's business, in less than two years he had obtained the longed-for leave to go to sea. Three years later, after many thrilling adventures, this amazing seventeen year old boy, who by the way had not yet made his first Communion, gives up his independence and begs for admission to Downside that he may become a Benedictine. He has to take to his books again, is then accepted as a novice, becomes a monk, is ordained to the priesthood. He longs for the hidden life, regular observance, the choir, the cell, the silence, study, community life-all that monasticism stands for. But God had other designs. The monk is asked by his superiors to undertake work of immense spiritual importance in Australia: he cannot refuse and a new life of adventure begins. Perhaps the most interesting chapters in the Autobiography are those which deal with this

¹ From Cabin Boy to Archbishop: The Autobiography of Archbishop Ullathorne. Introduction by Shane Leslie. Burns, Oates, London, 1941. Pp. xxvi, 310. Price: 15s. net.

period. But it is only "perhaps," so absorbing in interest are those which deal with his travels in South America and in Ireland, his work at Coventry, his visits to Rome and one to Paris in the May of 1848, his consecration as Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, his work in England and in Rome for the restoration of the English Hierarchy.

Some of the Archbishop's expressions and idioms are curious and thought provoking. Thus while our generation is familiar with the phrase "half seas over," he prefers "full seas over." Have we modified the older form or did he amplify ours? The temptation to quote from such racy pages must be resisted but one example of his wisdom, very applicable to our present circumstances, may be allowed. "I never felt the impulse to take the future in hand before it became the present, and was thus saved from those useless solicitudes that fret and torment the mind and the imagination. Perhaps this disposition has enabled me to better understand the inestimable value of Our Blessed Lord's maxim: Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof; to-morrow will provide for itself. Experience taught me that things do not occur as the imagination is apt to paint them by anticipation, and that by tormenting yourself with anticipations of the events in which you are to be engaged you only jaundice your eyes and warp your judgment. . . . Possessed of your principles, it is desirable that you should only see the objects to which they are to be applied when you come upon them, and then you will see them as they are in themselves and will deal with them unbiased by your prepossessions."

Great as is the debt we owe to Mr. Shane Leslie for giving us this priceless book, it is impossible to refrain from commenting on the large number of ridiculous verbal errors. Most of these cannot be classed as printers' errors, and however bad was the Archbishop's handwriting, better guesses might have been made. In Russia we have "jack-screws worked by gangs of services." At Downside he reads "Bishop Challoner's Think Well Out." At Norfolk Island the Protestant Mr. Attorney-General Plunkett "after a little confessing" grants him what he wants. A convent lady gives him a large sum of money for the Australian mission and later he travels from Rome with Mrs. Hutchinson of Edinburgh who had been to the Holy City "in the interest of St. Margaret's converts of which she was a chief foundress." Father Thomas Maguire had a "small mouth with tall teeth." "The history of the rate given for this church," is a very interesting history of its site. "A range of piles covered with forest." "The Blessed Sacrament was not received in that chapel." "I also thought that the Bishop would enter into the scheme of multiplying difficulties more readily etc." These are a few, but alas

there are many more.

3-NOBLE CASTLE¹

" NOBLE CASTLE" Mr. Hollis entitles his latest bookafter the nobile castello of the Inferno (the fourth canto, please, not that mysterious "canto 106" of the text). The title is a happy one since this castello in the nether world is the symbol of human learning and wisdom.

Genti v'eran con occhi tardi e gravi. Di grande autorità ne' lor sembianti.

Among its denizens he enumerates Electra, Aeneas and Hector-

representative presumably of Greek and Latin poetry.

The author is all for the poets whom Plato would have chased out of his ideal city because they had encouraged such low views about the gods. Mr. Hollis would certainly approve of Plato's motive, if not of his proposal. For the purpose of this book is to trace a gradual preparation, throughout the Greek and Roman world, as well as in Jewish history, for the coming of Christ. Beginning with the "Iliad" and "Odyssey," he points out that the Homeric heroes were blackguards, "savages behaving savagely." But they behaved no worse and no better than their religion would have them behave: in fact, their gods were the bigger scoundrels. This Homer felt instinctively and in two of his characters—Hector and Penelope—he was able to glimpse higher ideals than the Homeric creed allowed.

From Homer we are whisked away to the tragedians. There is an interesting analysis of the problems treated by Aeschylus whose general purpose was to justify the ways of gods to men. A difficult task which Euripides abandoned for a critical attack upon the inhabitants of the Greek Olympus. Too modestly Mr. Hollis disclaims classical scholarship. But this chapter is admirable. Here and there one finds a slight exaggeration, as in the sentence, "If there had not been the Oresteia, it is hardly possible that there could

ever have been the Gospel of St. John."

Where I would like to quarrel with Mr. Hollis is in the matter of Greek philosophy. He does not ignore it exactly but he passes lightly over it as though it were an almost indelicate subject. I wish he had added an extra verse or so from the castello passage of the fourth canto, and included Socrates with Plato and-most important in Dante's eyes-Aristotle, the maestro di color che sanno. For even the earliest Ionian thinkers were groping for the greatest of all problems of philosophy, the search of the real and permanent behind the phenomena of time and change. Pythagoreans were holding doctrines of immortality and practising asceticism before

¹ Noble Castle, by Christopher Hollis. Longmans, Green, London, 1941. Pp. 216. Price, 8s. 6d. net.

ever Aeschylus wrestled with his dramatic situations. And as for Plato—the author gives him a few pages, more than half of them containing one Platonic "myth," that of Er in the tenth book of the "Republic." And yet Plato's influence on the form of Christian thinking was to be immense. Mr. Hollis calls this particular chapter, "The Insufficiency of the Greeks"; I am tempted to re-name it, "The Insufficiency of Mr. Hollis." Some notice, too, ought to have been given to the Stoics who, in spite of pig-headedness and a kind of ethical snobbery, did exercise considerable influence in the shortly pre-Christian world: they had something to do with that revival of religion under Augustus and the twilight of paganism, at its least bad, which lasted well into the Christian era.

An answer is made to the question, "Why do we still read Virgil, and find ourselves strangely affected?" On Virgil Mr. Hollis is sound, appreciative and illuminating. Perhaps he might have made more of the epithet pius, habitually given to Aeneas: it would have confirmed his general argument. The Romans of Virgil's day deplored the decline of that special Roman pietas (it had little to do with piety) much as to-day we deplore the lack of Christian know-

ledge in England.

There is an admirable chapter on "The Golden Bough." It might have been sub-titled, "On the Fallacies of the Comparative Religionist." And for well-knit and cogent argument the section

on "Where was the Body?" is a little masterpiece.

The main portion of the book is prefaced with some pages on "Why God is?" I am not sure that they are very relevant. But I am sure that some of the statements they contain could be debated. They are inclined, in places, to depreciate knowledge from experience and to lapse into something nearish pragmatism. Mr. Hollis refers to the "ontological argument" for God's existence as thoroughly valid. It is not quite clear whether he means St. Anselm's version. Probably he does since he speaks of the proofs of God's existence, "as given by St. Thomas Aquinas, and still more by St. Anselm ": I doubt very much whether its validity is generally accepted. And then he informs us that we must start with Descartes' famous dictum: Cogito, ergo sum. The dictum is true enough, but it is questionable whether a realist philosophy can begin with it. It has proved the starting point of modern idealism. "You cannot begin with the idealist's assumption," M. Gilson has insisted so admirably, "and arrive at the realist's conclusion." Modern philosophy commenced with thought and ended with the identification of thought with reality.

These are, however, small points in what is a thoughtful and readable book. Mr. Hollis tells us wisely that we need to-day to escape from the trivial and the topical. His book is an admirable

and valuable means of escape.

4-THE FAITH IN ENGLAND¹

NE of the year's successes has been the series of twelve "Signposts," produced monthly during 1940, by a group of the younger Anglican theologians, and THE MONTH has been glad to give them almost unqualified approval and praise as they came out. It is with regret that not quite the same welcome can be extended to this one, which closes the series. Not that it is less outspoken in its opposition to Liberal Theology, than were the others; it goes even further, perhaps, in its repudiation of the root principles of Protestantism; it is distinguished above all by its clear recognition of the unity of Catholicism (in which England shared) in pre-Reformation times, and by its advocacy of the country's return, as soon as may be, to full communion with Rome. We cannot fail to welcome these sentiments and admire the courage with which they are unambiguously expressed. But his method is historical; and what the author offers us as the history of what happened will seem to the ordinary reader fantastic, and to the student unaccountable.

The author's thesis is, briefly, this. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Church was in need of reform. This led to the Protestant revolt, which could only be met by really taking the reform in hand. As luck would have it, about that time occurred an unfortunate political break with Rome, so that the reform in this country had to be accomplished separately. Rome and those in communion with her completed the work at Trent, England did so by the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Book of Common Prayer, etc. The real ethos of the Church of England is, in fact, Catholic: in opposition to Protestantism it retained the ancient faith, it retained the Episcopate and the Sacraments (seven). Only what was sheerly political—and therefore not to the point—in the Roman conception, was rejected. The Church of England is therefore only divided from Rome by political questions: it remains substantially a part of the Catholic Church, and the recognition of these facts by both sides will necessarily hasten the long-desired consummation of Reunion.

A short notice like this cannot deal with the great mass of detail which Canon Rees has gathered in support of his case. So we pass over the necessary tendenciousness of the new Tract XC which he gives us in chap. v, and confine ourselves to one or two important elements of his construction. He treats the theological aberrations of some of the later medieval scholastics as if they were typical of Western Theology, and he attempts to show that where the Church of England has seemed to repudiate that theology, it was only these aberrations that were rejected. He makes a good deal of the Homilies, but betrays a certain anxiety about them in the apologies

¹ The Faith in England. By A. Herbert Rees. Dacre Press, Westminster, 1941. Pp. 188. Price, 1s.

he gives us on pp. 75 ff.—without however giving the real reason. Canon Rees of course knows that it was no late medieval doctrine which the Homily against the Peril of Idolatry was repudiating, but the doctrine and practice ratified and defined in the seventh Oecumenical Council: no wonder that he should feel uncomfortable in presence of a colourful invective against "the most horrible idolatry" of the whole Church, East and West, ever since the eighth century, especially when he recalls the images which he sees daily in his own St. Paul's.

Canon Rees seems to think that once one has found a political motive behind some legislation or movement, such legislation can be discounted in the religious sphere. If that is so, one might justifiably question the authority of the Thirty-Nine Articles themselves; but, from his account, one would gather that the Convocations responsible for them were as uninfluenced by political pressure as that which withstood Elizabeth at her accession (p. 72; but he says nothing of her treatment of the Bishops in consequence, only that "the petition was ignored." Nor does he say anything of the persecution of Catholics before Elizabeth's excommunication in 1570).

The impression given is that adherence to the deposing power was the crux of the whole matter. Speaking of the time of Elizabeth, he says of the priests arrested: "Those who were prepared to give an unqualified denial of the Pope's deposing power were pardoned" (p. 92), and he implies that the same was true of the succeeding reign. Now, besides plenty of other evidence, we have the explicit evidence of the "Registers of Assizes" and of that of the prison of Newgate concerning 67 of the priests martyred between 1582 and 1618. In not a single instance is support of the deposing power given as the reason for their execution: the vast majority bear the laconic phrase: "that, being a priest, he did remain in England," or words to that effect (cf. Father Newdigate's admirable article Notes sur les Catalogues des Martyrs anglais in "Analecta Bollandiana," 1938 pp. 308-333. The 32 layfolk, also recorded there, provide convincing evidence too). As for the Oath of Allegiance, the author seems to be ignorant of the hypocrisy of James I's declarations in his "Apology," and glosses over the condition to which Catholics then and after were reduced, when, so far from their "being pardoned" on rejecting the deposing power, the law still subjected them to a system of civil disabilities, restrictions, and recurrent fines, the modern parallel to which is among the "evil things" which we are fighting to blot out to-day.

It is painful to have to recall these horrors, but the honour of the martyrs demands that this old political pretext should not be used again to vilify the cause for which they died. Let us end these criticisms on a lighter note. The "King's Book" had denied the Primacy of the Pope. This denial, the author says, "the Church of England withdrew at the beginning of the reigns of Mary and Eliza-

beth, and has never repeated " (p. 62). On such a point we need say no more. Securus judicat orbis terrarum.

We are quite prepared to admit that, dotted along its history, the Church of England can point to some of its writers as being more Catholic-minded than their fellows, but the faith of a body deserving the name of a Church is judged not by what some of its members have said it ought to hold, but by what its official leaders have actually proclaimed and taught—and tolerated,—and by what they have persecuted. Judged by these standards, the Church of England has never held what Canon Rees holds—and it certainly does not hold it to-day. We have the deepest sympathy with him in wishing that it did, and striving to inculcate the large percentage of Catholic truth which he professes in this book. But he must recognize that his wishes cannot alter what has happened in the past; nor will his hopes for the future be realized save through a facing of the facts as they really were, and are.

5-ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA AND PRAYER1

As all who knew him are aware, the late Archbishop Goodier Awas a man of great intellectual honesty, a deeply spiritual man, and a close student of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of which he had a long and wide practical experience in the giving of retreats to all sorts and conditions of persons, lay, clerical, and religious of both sexes.

It is therefore all the more difficult to follow the thesis of his unfinished work, now under review, which has been published posthumously with the title of "St. Ignatius Loyola and Prayer": for this thesis amounts in sum to the proposition that the chief aim of the Spiritual Exercises is to teach Contemplation—using that word in the sense given to it by St. John of the Cross, St. Teresa, and other classical authorities on Mystical Theology. The arguments which are alleged in support of this (surely novel) position rest mainly upon St. Ignatius's use of the terms "contemplation," "contemplate," which the Archbishop tells us occur in the Book of the Exercises "eighty-four times: more than once in every two pages," beginning with what are called the "Annotations" at the commencement.

But in the second of these Annotations "contemplation" is clearly defined as standing in St. Ignatius' intention for a process of "discussing and reasoning" about "a history" with the object of deriving "fruit"—which is precisely what Contemplation, in the classical sense, is not. Indeed Fr. Joseph Rickaby (who was steeped in the Spiritual Exercises) says quite unmistakably that St. Ignatius does not use the term in this sense but means by it simply a vivid kind of imaginative meditation—"a mind-painting."

Again, in the same place, and elsewhere, the saint repeatedly ¹ The Spiritual Exercises of S. Ignatius, by Archbishop Goodier, S.J., Burns and Oates, London. Pp. 200. Price: 7s. 6d. net.

uses the words "meditation" and "contemplation," as practically synonymous, and makes it quite clear that in his mind both depend upon our own efforts—which, once more, is precisely what Con-

templation, properly so called, does not.

Further, the professedly primary aim of the Spiritual Exercises is to provide a close-knit and highly logical (not to say psychological) system of reflection and argument for leading a man (usually assumed to be in need of spiritual reform) to come to a firm and final decision as to a choice of life with reference to his duty towards God—to make his "Election," as it is called—whereby is by no means necessarily meant a "state of perfection" in the theological sense of the phrase (cf. the "Prelude for making the Election," in the Second Week). Is it credible, then, that at the very outset of this process the "exercitant" should be introduced to the prayer of Mystical Contemplation, still less that he should be assumed to have already attained to it? Yet such seems to be the logical inference from the Archbishop's commentary on St. Ignatius' use of the word from the very start. That St. Ignatius was well aware of what true Contemplation is, and that he was himself a contemplative of a high order, no one thinks of questioning: but the present writer is quite unable to agree with Archbishop Goodier that the Saint has this exalted state of prayer in mind when (even in the opening paragraphs of his Exercises) he exhorts the beginner to "meditation, contemplation, vocal and mental prayer." As Suarez explains, discussing this very point in his Treatise De Religione Societatis Jesu, Lib. IX, Cap. 6, St. Ignatius was content to direct the soul along the path of the ordinary methods of prayer and meditation towards the initial stages of what he defines as "a certain simple intuition of the truth "(adding that it is an actus simplicissimus nulli formae adstrictus), but that since this belongs to the magisterium not of man but of the Holy Ghost, the Saint made but little reference (pauca dixit) to Contemplation strictly so called.

Knowing the extreme sensitiveness of the late Archbishop's devotion to the Founder of the Society, and having had some insight into his reactions to a recent controversy which arose out of the publication of Abt. Chapman's "Spiritual Letters," the present reviewer is tempted to see in this work an altogether sincere, yet somewhat undiscriminating, defence of the Saint against what was mistakenly apprehended as an attack upon his spiritual teaching. This is, however, by no means intended as an adverse criticism of the book as a whole, for undoubtedly there is much in its pages which throws a revealing light upon the object and the mechanism (so to call it) of the Spiritual Exercises, obliging the reader to recognize in them a masterly system of preparation of the soul for

the Divine Visitation whatever form that may take.

The prefatory sketch, by Fr. H. Keane, of the Archbishop's life, will be most welcome to his many friends for whom his memory remains an inspiration.

R.H.J.S.

SHORT NOTICES

DOCTRINAL.

R. JOSEPH CARTMELL has rendered useful service to both clergy and laity by preparing a new edition of F. di Bruno's Catholic Belief (B.O. and W.: 2s. 6d. net), in which "the doctrinal section has been largely recast," and the controversial sections have been brought up to date. As the book is likely to run into further editions, we venture to suggest a few slight improvements. An index is urgently needed to facilitate reference. For instance, various Catholic devotions are worked in rather arbitrarily and are not easy to find. Moreover the last paragraph on the Holy Eucharist (p. 71) is inadequate, if not misleading, and needs to be supplemented by section 12 in Part III, on "Communion in One Kind," especially pp. 189-190. The "List of Fathers, etc.," seems insufficient as it omits Origen and Tertullian, who are certainly "Ecclesiastical Writers." The list of Religious Orders, etc., with canonized Founders, omits some well-known Congregations of Women. It might be better to arrange it in chronological order of foundation, with nuns in a separate list. But such minor short-comings of this handy and attractive work will not prevent it from being extremely useful for the instruction of the laity, both within and without the Fold.

DEVOTIONAL.

In his book entitled St. Mary Magdalen (B.O. and W.: 3s. 6d. net), Fr. Vincent McNabb, O.P., has combined two treatments of the Gospel story of Mary Magdalen. In the first place, under the heading "Narrative," he gives the Evangelists' account of the various scenes in which Mary Magdalen figures, and skilfully shows how one Evangelist supplements another, why something had to be left unsaid by one and could be said by another, and so on: in a word, he uses the harmony of the Gospels with great effect. Later, in the "Notes," he gives his own reflections on the "Narrative" —the result one feels, of his own meditation, deep insight and long experience. Though the thoughts are rather unconnected, there are gems scattered throughout the pages which a preacher might like to develop in a sermon or a religious in meditation. St. Mary Magdalen has found in Fr. McNabb an enthusiastic and eloquent panegyrist. The book is not a biography, in the ordinary sense, and may not appeal quite so much to the average reader.

In **The God Who Giveth Joy**, a religious of the Society of the Holy Child has gathered together a number of "Thoughts on the Lovableness of God," from both the Old and the New Testaments. A series of texts are grouped under ten headings which express the manifold motives for trustful love of God. It need hardly be said how timely this selection is: and the compiler has done her work well. Wisely she has added no commentary, and the word of God

is allowed to speak for itself. The book offers admirable spiritual

reading and matter for prayer in these disconcerting times.

A prayer book compiled by Rosa George, **The Love of God** (Sands: 1s. 6d. net) is a useful addition to our books of Catholic piety, and seems particularly suitable for married women. Its choice of prayers is at once traditional and original, drawing on the best sources of such piety, notably the Missal, and the various "schools" are well represented. The inclusion of a Litany of Irish Saints is a good notion, but why not also a Litany of English Saints? Father Aelred Whitacre's drawings add to the attractiveness of this little book, which is pleasingly "different."

LITURGICAL.

Explained (A. Hickling, Ruskin House, Ambleside: 5s. net) needs no introduction. It has long since proved its popularity and practicability, and the fact that it has now reached a fifth and revised edition indicates that it still meets a growing need, being in effect, the only work in English on the subject. The text has been revived in accordance with the latest Roman Decrees, and, although there is no index, the bold headings of the various sections make it easy to find quickly the information sought. As a practical help to the clergy in the discharge of their parochial duties, as well as to those in training to perform the same, it has vindicated its position as a valuable help, and will, we trust, long continue to be so.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Reviewed in present issue or reserved for future notice.)

BURNS AND OATES, London

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